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in Ancient History and Prehistory

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Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday

Edited by
K. H. Kinzl



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Preface

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K. H. K.

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ANDREW ALFÖLDI

From the *Aion Plutonios* of the Ptolemies to the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of the Roman Emperors

*(Redeunt Saturnia regna VI)**

The longing for a savior who would bring back the happiness of paradise, which animated the suffering masses in the subjugated Hellenistic states and in Italy alike from the Punic Wars onwards, engendered all sorts of Messianic doctrines. These doctrines were not conceived in the Eternal City. As is well known, they invaded the West from the Orient. The mythical patterns to which they owed their success took their final shape in large part in Ptolemaic Alexandria, based on Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian, Jewish and Greek elements. The Ptolemies exploited these religious expectations and the theological concepts in which they were expressed for the exaltation of their rule, becoming in this respect the teachers of Roman leaders.

The outstanding figure in the theological speculations and doctrines in question was Aion, ruler of the Universe, god of limitless time, who was thought to bring the return of the Golden Age. The extremely complicated character of Aion has been elucidated by modern philological research. The meaning of the word αἰών and its evolution to a divine concept in the philosophical speculation of the Greeks has been thoroughly investigated[1].

* The previously published studies of this series are: I. "Le triumvirat de Q. Fabius Maximus, C. Servilius et M. Caecilius Metellus," *RN* 13, 1971, 76–89; II. "An Iconographical Pattern Heralding the Return of the Golden Age in or about 139 B. C.," *Chiron* 3, 1973, 131–142; III. "Jupiter-Apollo und Veiovis," *Chiron* 2, 1972, 215–230; IV. "Apollo und die Sibylle in der Zeit der Bürgerkriege," *Chiron* 5, 1975, 165–192; VI. "Zum Gottesgnadentum des Sulla," *Chiron* 6, 1976, 143–158; Pl. 7–10.

[1] C. Lackeit, *Aion; Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen*, Diss. Königsberg 1916, 1. Sprache; O. Weinreich, *ARW*, 19, 1916/19, 174ff.; C. Lackeit, *RE* Suppl. 3,64ff.; A.-J. Festugière, *PP* 11, 1949, 172ff.; *idem*, *La révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste* 4², 1954, 141ff.; 146 n. 4; 182 n. 1; 187 n. 5; 189; 193; *idem*, *La revue des arts* 7, 1957, 195ff.; E. Degani, Αἰών *da Omero ad Aristotele*, Padova 1961; W. Theiler, *JHS* 77, 1957, 127ff.

The perplexing variability of the concept has been made comprehensible by the discovery of its roots in the sacred theories of Egyptian priesthoods and in Persian cosmogonic teachings on Eternal Time. The infiltration of the everchanging hypostases of Aion into the latest stratum of the Old Testament and into the New Testament has been discerned, as well as the adaptation of the same theological definitions to the mystical twilight zone of the Gnosis[2]. Historians of ancient art have not failed to recognize the representations of Aion and the pictorial setting in which he was placed[3].

Some crucially important renderings of Aion in art, however, have gone unrecognized, while some others have not yet been correctly interpreted. These hitherto unexploited data throw new light on the role of Alexandria, the main spiritual center of Hellenism, in the final fashioning of this composite theological figure and in the transmission of the same ideas to imperial Rome. Before we turn our attention to the Hellenistic background of Aion, however, it may be useful to recall that the influence of the Near East upon the thinkers of Greece began long before the conquests of Alexander. The evidence put at our disposal by A.-J. Festugière has shown that Empedocles (31 B 16) already used *aiôn* in the meaning of "eternity". Aion appears personified as early as Euripides, *Heraclid.* 897. And for Aristotle the immeasurable principle of time is a divine being[4].

[2] Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* 1, 1899, 74ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Göttingen 1921, 151ff.; 188ff.; M. Zepf, *ARW* 25, 1927, 225ff.; J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, 1928, 67ff.; A. D. Nock, *HThR* 27, 1934, 53ff. = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* 1, 1972, 357ff.; esp. 377ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 2, 1950, 478; E. Kantorowicz, *Selected Essays*, Locust Valley (N. Y.) 1965, 30f.; J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire* 1, 1955, 155ff.; cf. 141ff.; H. Sasse, *Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 1, 1933, 197ff.; *idem*, *RAC* 1, 1950, 193ff. (lit.); H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. 9, 1561ff.; D. Mannsperger, *Aufstieg und Niedergang* 2, 1, 1974, 963ff.

[3] L. Deubner, *MDAI(R)* 27, 1912, 1ff.; P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, 1912, 177f.; D. Levi, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, 269ff.; *idem*, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, 195ff.; 263ff.; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* 1, 1951, 104ff.; 163ff. (cf. Horn, *Gnomon* 27, 1955, 352ff.); J. Charbonneaux, *MEFR* 1960, 253ff.; A. Blanco Freijeiro, "El mosaico de Merida con la alegoria del Saeculum aureum," *Estudios sobre el mundo helenistico. Ciclo de conferencias en el curso académico 1969–1970*, Sevilla 1971, 153ff.; G. Ch. Picard, in: *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* 2, Paris 1971 (1975), 119f. Also: C. Albizzati, *Athenaeum* N. S. 15, 1937, 187ff.; M. Eliade, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*, 1949; E. Peterson, *Εἷς Θεός*, 1926, 241ff.; 260ff.

[4] Arist. *De caelo* 1,9,279f.: κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τέλος καὶ τὸ τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν περιέχον τέλος Αἰών ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεὶ εἶναι εἰληφὼς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἀθάνατος καὶ θεῖος.

Aion in Alexandria. – In the romance of Alexander the hero is proceeding to the foundation of Alexandria guided by Ammon, in the region of Egypt where *Aion Plutonios* has his domain[5]:

> Ὦ βασιλεῦ, σοὶ Φοῖβος ⟨ὁ⟩ μηλόκερως ἀγορεύει·
> εἶγε θέλεις αἰῶσιν ἀκησάτοισ⟨ι⟩ νεάζειν,
> κτίζε πόλιν περίφημον ὑπὲρ Πρωτηίδα νῆσον,
> ἧς προκάθητ' Αἰὼν Πλουτώνιος αὐτὸς ἀνάσσων
> πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσι ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἐλίσσων.

We do not need here to scrutinize once more the Alexander-Romance and try again to separate the scattered historical facts in it from the surrounding web of fictitious elements[6]. It is enough for our discussion to stress the authenticity of the name of *Aion Plutonios*, a *terminus technicus* reaching back to the early Ptolemies.

One of the great experts in the field of Greek religion, Martin P. Nilsson, thought[7] that the epithet *Plutonios* indicated the assimilation of the god Aion to Sarapis, but to Sarapis not as the lord of the nether world, but as the "giver of riches". This interpretation correctly derives *Plutonios* from Pluton, but then wrongly identifies Pluton with Sarapis; the well-known amalgamation of Sarapis with Hades occurred later than Aion was remodelled in Alexandria. I must repeat: Sarapis has nothing to do with the original formulation of the theology of Aion, as conceived at the court of the Ptolemies. *Plutonios*, a derivative of Pluton, refers indeed to the divine source of the earth's abundance of natural products. Plato, *Crat.* 403A, rightly derives the very name Πλούτων from πλοῦτος, and ancient

[5] *Vita Alexandri Magni* (ed. H. van Thiel, 1974), 1,30,7 and 1,33,2.

[6] All the literary data and extensive modern literature on the subject are to be found in the following studies: C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11, 1962, 271ff.; J. E. Stambaugh, Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies, *Études prélimin. aux religions orient. dans l'empire romaine*, 25, 1972. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 1972, 247f.; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Große: Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, ²1973, 239ff.; 537; 564; 691ff. (general literature).

C. B. Welles, *op. cit.*, thought that this nomenclature could have been in use even before the foundation of Alexandria and that it could have been employed in an oracle of Ammon in 331 B. C. But it is a Greek definition of the divinity, conceived by the Ptolemies. I follow R. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 188: "Der Name ist die griechische Beigabe zur Schöpfung des neuen Gottes."

[7] M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 482. O. Weinreich, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 189, expressed a similar opinion. The preponderance of Sarapis, however, is a later development, as our documentation shows.

writers along with modern etymologists[8] follow him. And Hesychios (*s.* εὔπλουτος) gives the original meaning of *ploutos* as "wealth in corn". Thus the meaning of the adjective *ploutonios* is "the bringer of rich crops", without, however, involving a connection with the myth, ritual and iconography of Hades, the ruler of the nether world. The reason for this must be that the complex theology of Aion was influenced by the cults of two solar divinities who also were promoters of the fertility of the soil, namely the Phoenician Baal, called *Kronos* in Greek and *Saturnus* in Latin, and the Egyptian Osiris. The correctness of this interpretation will become evident once more from the fact that the Alexandrian divinity *Aion Plutonios* survived in Punic North Africa as the god called *Saeculum Frugiferum*, as we will see below. The Latin translation of "*Aion*" was "*Saeculum*" (σέκουλον γὰρ τὸν αἰῶνα Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, says Zosimus 2,1,1); and that "*Frugiferum*" is the translation of "*Plutonios*" needs no further clarification.

It is another matter that Alexandrian theologians attributed the quality of a *frugifer deus* to Sarapis as well as to Aion. The best illustration of this fact is provided by a votive terracotta statuette showing the *kosmokrator* Sarapis lying in a corn-field[9]. This secondary equation of Aion and Sarapis, however, has nothing to do with the original concept of the Alexandrian Aion, though this erroneous notion continues to be repeated in recent studies on our subject[10].

The correct solution of this intricate problem was pinned down by R. Reitzenstein in 1921[11]: "At a time when the cult of Sarapis overshadowed all others, a new interpretation of the oracle (of Ammon in the Alexander-Romance) emerged, according to which *Aion Plutonios* is merely an oracular circumlocution for a specific god, namely Sarapis himself".

The original independence of Aion and Sarapis is clearly reflected by the fundamental differences between their respective iconographies. We shall review some types of the representations of Aion in this study and

[8] Hofer, in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* 3,2569. Cf. also M. Leglay, *Saturne africain: Histoire*, Paris 1966, 121 ff.; 235.

[9] W. Hornbostel, Sarapis, *Ét. prélim. aux rel. or. dans l'empire rom.*, 32, 1973, 350f.; Fig. 270. It seems to me that the counterpart of this Sarapis is missing, namely the figure of Isis.

[10] E. g. Welles, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 283. Stambaugh, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 4; 28; 41f.; 84f.; Hornbostel, *op. cit.*, 272 n. 2, etc.

[11] Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 196.

others in subsequent ones; the early iconographical types of Sarapis have recently been illuminated for us in an article by H. Jucker[12], a valuable survey by J. E. Stambaugh[13], and the thorough catalogue of each and every statuary type in the book by Hornbostel that we have already cited.

The cult of Sarapis (Osiris-Apis) existed in Egypt at the time of the conquest of Alexander the Great. The prominent feature of this Egyptian divinity must have been his rule over the nether world, for when the early Ptolemies adopted him in a Hellenized form as their patron, they chose as his representation a statue of Pluton with the *kalathos* on his head and with Kerberos at his feet. In all artistic representations Sarapis is a bearded older man assimilated to the paternal image of almighty Zeus, but characterized by the *kalathos* as a chthonic divinity. The case of Aion is fundamentally different. One category of the complex repertory of his appearances in sculpture and painting, in mosaics and minor arts, features him too as an aged man; but in this case the basic prototype is never Zeus, but always Kronos-Saturn along with Poseidon.

The orginal independence of the Alexandrian Aion from Sarapis is manifested also in the separation of their respective cults. The festival of the birth of Aion[14] on the day of Epiphany was celebrated in Alexandria not in the *Serapeum*, but in the *Koreion*. It seems to be no mere coincidence that Aion was also worshipped in the most venerable *Koreion* of the Greek world, in Eleusis[15], where another *Frugifer*, Triptolemos, also had his home. Important new evidence for the connection between the *Koreion* at Eleusis and that in the city of Alexander is offered by Alexandrian game-counters of the Julio-Claudian period, to be surveyed by Elizabeth Alföldi in *Chiron* 6, 1976, which demonstrate that the Alexandrian *Koreion* was situated in the suburb Eleusis (pl. C, 3) and was regularly called the *Eleusinion* (pl. C, 1; 2).

[12] H. Jucker, *Schweizer Munzblätter* 19, 1969, 78ff.

[13] Stambaugh, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 10ff.; 17f.; 21; 27ff.

[14] Reitzenstein, *GGN* 1904, 317ff.; K. Holl, *SPAW* 1917, 402ff.; O. Weinreich, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 188ff.; E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 1924, 24ff.; 33ff.; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 188ff.; 196ff.; M. Zepf, *ARW* 25, 1927, 241; Fr. Cumont, *CRAI* 1928, 278; Nilsson, *ARW* 30, 1933, 152ff.; Nock, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 92 = 1, 389 (who was the first to suspect the reference of the bone-game-counters to the Alexandrian sanctuary [pl. C, 1–3]); Nilsson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 482; Fraser, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 336ff.; with n. 79; W. Fauth, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1,186 (further lit.).

[15] *SIG*[3] 1125; R. Wünsch, *ARW* 12, 1909, 36; O. Kern, *ARW* 22, 1925, 199ff.; Weinreich, *op. cit.* (n. 1) 174ff.; Nilsson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 331 n. 11.

Triptolemos appears with Aion on the mosaic-floor of Chehba-Philippopolis, cf. Charbonneaux, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

On the other hand, the continuation of the cult of the Alexandrian Aion in North Africa in the religion of *Saturnus Frugifer*, to be discussed below, shows us that even under his Roman name the Aion of the Ptolemies preserved his identity and remained distinct from Pluton. Among the very large number of votive inscriptions dedicated to that *Frugifer*, now conveniently assembled and carefully analyzed in the volumes of M. Leglay's *Saturne africain*[16], there is only one which names the god *Pluto Augustus Frugifer* (*ILS* 4453), and this exception probably arose from a mistaken identification of *Plutonios* with *Pluton*, – easily to be understood. One other inscription (*ILS* 4457) is also dedicated to *Pluto*, but mentions along with him a number of other divinities including *Dispater*. Here *Pluto* clearly stands for *Frugifer*, for the presence of *Dispater* demonstrates the conscious differentiation from the god of the nether world.

It has been overlooked that we possess impeccable contemporary evidence for the iconographical characterization of *Aion Plutonios* from as early as the third century B. C. This is revealed by the correct interpretation of the representation of Ptolemy III as a divinity on the golden octadrachms struck by his son and successor[17] (pl. A, 1; 3). On these heavy pieces of gold the departed king is shown with a youthful face, equipped with the *aegis* of Zeus, the rays of Helios emerging from the royal ribbon on his head, the trident of Poseidon on his shoulder. The cornucopiae of the reverse displays once more the royal diadem, resplendent with the rays of the sun around it: this is another pictorial reference to the *Euergetes*, the divinized benefactor of the world, whose rule brought carefree happiness, plenty, and blessings to humanity.

The same bust of Ptolemy III was also placed on the seals of high officials and priests, as the impression of such a seal in unbaked clay in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (pl. A, 2)[18] attests. H. Kyrieleis[19] ob-

[16] Leglay, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 121ff.; 235.

[17] I wrongly attributed these octadrachms to Philopator in *Chiron* 2, 1972, 224; I follow here the generally assumed interpretation.

The scepter of the Ptolemies, which constitutes the central prong of the trident on the obverse of these coins, is the same as that which appears, e. g., with the bust of Arsinoë; cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων* 3, 1904, pl. 42,1.

[18] J. G. Milne, *JHS* 36, 1916, 87ff.; pl. 4,101. D. Burr Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai*, 1973, pl. 74b.

[19] H. Kyrieleis, *JDAI* 88, 1973, 220. It is no mere chance that these didrachms were struck exactly 100 years after the appearance of the phoenix was announced in 238 B. C.

served that the same sort of complex divinization was extended to another ruler of Hellenized Egypt. "Ptolemy VIII", he writes, "the second king of the dynasty styled 'Euergetes', the *deuteros euergetes* of the inscriptions, appears on silver didrachms of the year 138/37 B. C. in the same dress, with *aegis* and the rays above the diadem. That the first Euergetes, Ptolemy III, had here been the model emerges both from the royal epithet and from the adaptation of what must have been a well-known coin portrait".

The divine attributes of Euergetes have hitherto been interpreted as a cumulation of unrelated elements not based upon a single theological concept. We quote some recent statements illustrating this. Kyrieleis, in his relevant contribution on Ptolemaic portraiture[20], writes that "this seemingly hybrid accumulation of the heterogeneous attributes of several different gods and their substitution for the ordinary Hellenistic royal attire can only be understood, I think, as a symbolic combination of the different characteristics of the divine essence of the king".

In another fine study of the portrait sculpture of the Ptolemies, Ines Jucker[21] expresses a similar view and adds to it a general conclusion: "The combination of a number of attributes of the highest Greek gods on the coins that Philopator struck for his deceased father serves to illustrate the splendor of the Ptolemaic house . . . Thus, inspired by ancient Egyptian ideas, the practice of expressing through symbols the divinity and might of the ruler and the abundant prosperity of his reign seems to have originated and to have reached its highest development at the court of Alexandria under the rule of the *diadochoi*."

Quite differently, N. Davis and C. M. Kraay try to explain this phenomenon as an attempt to express the extent and superiority of the king's rule by giving him the distinguishing features of three great divinities. They write[22]: "Is this simply a casual assemblage of cults with which Ptolemy was associated or is there a definite political message? The cooperation between the Ptolemies (Zeus, cf. Fig. 9) and Rhodes (Helios) secures control of the sea (Poseidon). Ptolemaic maritime power was at its greatest extent during the third century. On the reverse the cornucopiae bound with the royal diadem is surmounted by the rays of the sun. The

[20] *Ibid.*, 219.
[21] Ines Jucker, *AK* 18, 1975, 17ff.
[22] N. Davis & C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History*, 1973, fig. 23f.; 27.

meaning is that the king, identified with the sun-god, assures the fertility of the earth."

Such a rationalistic use of symbols could be the directing idea of a modern medallist planning an allegorical composition. We would admit too that such decorative bragging with the symbols of divine majesty and power could have fit the exhibitionism of the worthless emperor Commodus[23], four hundred years after Euergetes, when the grandeur of the gods of classical Greece had become diluted in the flood of syncretism, and the paraphernalia of their presentation in art had faded to empty clichés. In the early phase of the Hellenistic ruler-cult, however, when the institution was still based on true religious veneration of the sovereign by his subjects, such a frivolous approach cannot be admitted.

For the highly influential priestly caste of Egypt in the third century B. C. such a combination of divine potencies as indicated by the attributes of Euergetes on the octadrachms of his son meant their union under the aspect of one supreme power. Their way of thinking and their high aspirations could not be better illustrated than by the simple quotation of a famous religious document, deeply rooted in the atmosphere just indicated.

This document is the truly majestic revelation of Isis[24] in the novel of Apuleius (*Met.* 11,5):

> *En adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina manium, prima caelitum, deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae caeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso: cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine*

[23] A lampoon (so called by E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 35, 1900, 127) quoted by Athenaeus (12,537 E = *FGrHist* 126 F 5), disguised under the name of Ephippos of Olynthus, alleges that Alexander the Great liked to parade in various divine costumes. Jacoby (*FGrHist* 2 B Komm., p. 439 [at 126 F 5]) pays too much attention to this product of the anti-monarchic invective of the cynical and stoic popular philosophy, which liked to portray the Hellenistic kingship as a tyranny of Persian coloring For the origins of this pattern, cf. my remarks in: *Late Classical and Early Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, 1955, 15ff.

[24] For the origins of this doctrine, cf. R. Harder, *Karpokrates und die memphitische Propaganda*, 1943, *passim* (cf. Nock, *Gnomon* 21, 1949, 221ff.); W. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*, Berlin 1930. More in Nilsson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 600ff.; D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, 1961.

multiiugo totus veneratur orbis. Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam Deum Matrem, hinc autochthones Attici Cecropeiam Minervam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusinii vetustam deam Cererem, Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem.

Reitzenstein once remarked that if in this solemn theological announcement we retain the definition of the almighty divinity, ruler of the Kosmos, but replace the female names with corresponding male ones, we are approaching very near to the concept of Aion. Indeed, it will be shown below that Euergetes, as a divine being combining the powers of Zeus, Helios, and Poseidon, is Aion, the *poikilomorphos* god, ruler of the universe, who introduces the rebirth of the world.

This is also the reason that Ptolemaios Euergetes, who died at an age over sixty, appears with such rejuvenated features on the octadrachms. Aion was represented in cult and in art as both very old and very young, but court propaganda (a topic to which we will return below) preferred to show him as a boy. On the magnificent gold piece in Boston (pl. A, 1) Euergetes appears as a very young boy, whereas other die cutters portrayed him as a resplendent youth[25] (pl. A, 3).

The cornucopiae with the royal diadem on the reverse, illuminated by the luster of the rays of Helios, also refers to the royal benefactor of the world as *Aion Plutonios:* on an Attic vase of the fourth century B. C. Plutos is shown sitting on the horn of plenty[26], and in the art of imperial Rome the putto sitting on the cornucopiae or just emerging from it continued this symbolism, heralding the advent of the Golden Age.

[25] The same rejuvenation of the divinized king (in place of realistic portraiture) must be taken into account in the case of the Ptolemaic bronze statuettes of a pair of wrestlers, excellently interpreted by Kyrieleis, *Ant. Plastik* 12, 1973, 133ff. He has shown that the victorious athlete, who combines the young Horus and Hermes-Thot in the same person, is a Ptolemaic king. I suspect that the theological background of the royal Horus-Thot influenced the syncretistic divinity appearing on *denarii* of the Roman civil wars, analyzed in *Chiron* 2, 1972, 215ff.

[26] K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen,* Berlin 1930, pl. 6b. E. La Rocca, *JDAI* 89, 1974, 112ff.; esp. 125, Fig. 23. We wish to discuss the Roman imitations of this art motif in a later contribution.

Once the identification of the divinized Euergetes, "Benefactor of the human race", with Aion is established, it is not difficult to find out when and how this apotheosis came about. This was not mere poetic imagery of court flatterers: it was a political consecration, worked out by experts. Aion, god of Eternity, was supposed to govern the periodical regeneration of the Kosmos and to introduce after the completion of a cycle of world-years the revival of the Golden Age, the utopia of Paradise on Earth.

The equation of the accession of a new king to the throne with the happy rebirth of the world was an old Egyptian concept well suited to the Hellenistic mentality and the political propaganda of the age. R. van den Broek suggests that this concept was invented in the court of the Seleucids and applied first with respect to the accession of Antiochos I[27]. The theoretical basis, however, was not new. We know that the end of a sequence of cosmic periods and the rebirth of the universe was proclaimed in Egypt precisely under Euergetes. The theory of the sacred science of Egypt connected this greatest event on earth with the appearance of the miraculous bird phoenix[28], messenger of the heavens for this single occasion. The great synod of Egyptian priests that met in 239/38 B. C. to discuss the stabilization and expansion of the ruler-cult[29] used the opportunity of a new Sothis period, as Van den Broek has shown, to assert that this god-sent herald of the returning Golden Age had just reappeared. Van den Broek writes[30]:

> "Because of the parallelism between the Greek and Egyptian conceptions on this point, it was virtually inevitable that the phoenix would become a symbol of the Sothic period and that this bird would be identified with its beginning. Like other purely astronomical cycles, that of Sothis was regarded as a Great Year, although actually in a derivative sense. The original mythic conception of the Great Year, with the return to the beginning of the world and the renewal of all things, was also

[27] R. van den Broek, The Myth of the Phoenix, *Ét. prélim. aux rel. or. dans l'empire rom.*, 24, 1972, 104. Cf. for the half scientific, half mythical theories behind this announcement F. Boll, C. Bezold & W. Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, ⁵1966, 200ff.; B. L. van der Waerden, *Hermes* 80, 1952, 135ff.; W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft*, 1962, 293ff. Cf. also H. Castritius, *JNG* 14, 1964, 89ff.; M. Walla-Schuster, Der Vogel Phönix in der antiken Literatur und der Dichtung des Laktanz, *Diss. der Univ. Wien*, 29, 1969, 33f.; 42.

[28] Van den Broek, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 233ff.; Walla-Schuster, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 53ff.

[29] H. Volkmann, *RE* 23, 1674ff.; 1688f.; R. Böker, *RE* 2A, 2417f.

[30] Van den Broek, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 106f.; Walla-Schuster, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 33f.; 42.

transferred to this astronomical Great Year. In the way just indicated, the phoenix became a symbol of the Great Year, the inaugurator of a new era. It would indeed have been remarkable if in Hellenistic Egypt, on the basis of all this, its appearance had not been connected with the beginning of the Sothic period.

"This connection was perhaps first made under Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 B. C.), in the sixth year of whose reign (238) the well-known decree of Canopus was issued at a large gathering of Egyptian priests. In this document the salutary rule of Ptolemy III was praised to the skies and a number of measures intended to extend the divine worship of this ruler and his spouse were announced. At the same time, however, it represented an attempt to reform the calendar . . . It was therefore decided that every four years a sixth day would be added to the five intercalated days, as a leap-day, and to have New Year's day henceforth coincide with the ascension of Sirius on the first of the month of Payni.

"The decree of Canopus was clearly meant to inaugurate a new era . . . It is in this light that we must read the so far unexplained report of Tacitus that the phoenix appeared in the time of Ptolemy III[31]. Evidently, an attempt was made to add authority to the new calendar by invoking an appearance of the phoenix, the herald of a new era. It is not impossible that in this case the example of the appearance of the phoenix at the beginning of the Seleucid era served as inspiration."

The golden octadrachms do not stand alone with the representation of a Ptolemaic ruler as Aion. The same sort of divinization is also attested, first of all, by the well-known relief of Archelaos from Priene with the apotheosis of Homer (pl. B)[32]. C. Watzinger demonstrated long ago[33] that the divine couple placed behind the seated poet as an allegorical indication of his perpetual glory exhibit the features of one of the Ptolemies and the idealized visage of his wife. Their divine function has been indicated by labeling them as XPONOΣ and OIKOYMENH, and by providing the man with large and powerful wings and placing the *polos* of Demeter on the head of the woman. Numerous scholars have tried to refute the interpretation of Watzinger, but without success. On the contrary: the

[31] Tac. *Ann.* 6,28: *prioresque alites Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemeo qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen, advolavisse.*

[32] D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die Musen des Philiskos,* 1965, 311ff., does not discuss the identification of Chronos-Aion with a Ptolemaic ruler; she provides excellent illustrations and an up-to-date bibliography in: *Ant. Plastik* IV 7, 1973, pl. 29.

[33] C. Watzinger, *Berl. Winckelmannsprogr.* 63, 1903, 17f.

clay impression of a seal from Egypt (pl. D, 5) with the portrait of Ptolemy Philometor, recently recognized by D. Burr Thompson[34], shows the same powerful wings. It goes without saying that the XPONOΣ of the Archelaos-relief does not mean the measured time familiar to us, but Aion as immeasurable time, in reference to the everlasting fame of Homer, which illuminates the whole civilized world, the OIKOYMENH. The wings are part of the iconography of the boundless time of eternity, Aion.

Aion Plutonios and Osiris Frugifer. – The heavy pieces of gold with the likeness of Euergetes as Aion were produced for the pay and reward of the Graeco-Macedonian staff and officers of Ptolemy IV. It is obvious that the divine king was represented in a Hellenized manner as Zeus-Helios-Poseidon with a view towards these recipients. But it is equally evident that behind this Greek presentation an Egyptian version of Aion must have existed.

The passage of Tacitus quoted above[35] includes the important fact that it was in Heliopolis that the phoenix (cf. pl. F, 6; H, 1–4) allegedly appeared under Euergetes. This is another connection of Aion with the sun-god, attested already by the sun-rays around the diadem of Euergetes, and another proof that not Pluton, but Helios, constitutes one of the main components in the composite concept of our god of Eternal Time.

A closer interpretation of well-known texts leads us a step closer to the Egyptian definition and form of Aion. In an invocation of Sol-Apollo in the *Thebais* of Statius one finds[36]: *adsis . . . / . . . seu te roseum Titana vocari / gentis Achemeniae ritu, seu praestant Osirim / frugiferum*, etc. Philo of Byblos, in the same epoch as Statius, offers a paraphrase of the divine epithet *Frugifer*, connected this time not with Osiris, but with Aion[37]: he describes Aion as the *inventor* of nourishment from plants

[34] Burr Thompson, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 90 and 114 with pl. 74K. The lion-skin covering the head of the king indicates his alleged descent from Heracles.

[35] Cf. above n. 31; and Walla-Schuster, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 53ff.; 81ff.; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 200.

[36] Stat. *Theb.* 1,696ff., esp. 716ff. Osiris-*Frugifer* was also known by Tibullus, but this poet transformed him into the *inventor* of agriculture (1,7,29ff.): *Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris / Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum, / Primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae / Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus; / Hic docuit teneram palis adiungere vitem, / Hic viridem dura caedere falce comam.* Cf. for the philosophical background of this changed attitude F. Bomer, *P. Ovidius Naso· Die Fasten*, 1958, 241ff.

[37] Philo of Byblos, in Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1,10,7: εἶτά φησιν γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Κολπίᾳ ἀνέμου καὶ γυναικὸς Βάαυ (τοῦτο δὲ νύκτα ἑρμηνεύει) Αἰῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον . . . εὑρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ δένδρων τροφήν.

and trees. In Alexandria, however, Osiris was identified with Aion. Damascius, a late pagan philosopher from Alexandria, confirms this explicitly[38]. These texts prove once more that the *Aion Plutonios* of Alexandria was a *plutodotes-Frugifer*, and not a hypostasis or descendant of Pluto.

The identification of Aion Plutonios with Osiris-*Frugifer* is directly attested by a stele from Koptos, published long ago by W. M. Flinders Petrie[39], but only recently put in the right perspective by L. Kákosy[40]. Osiris is seen on this relief (pl. E, 1) standing in the circle of the *ouroboros*, the snake biting its own tail – the Egyptian symbol of Eternity[41]. Surrounded by six stars, Osiris must here represent the sun, and the relief symbolizes the return of the seven planets to their original positions in the sky, when a new world year begins with the Golden Age under the guidance of Aion.

The Phoenician-African Version of the Aion Cult of Alexandria. – As mentioned above, the Latin rendering of the Aion was *Saeculum*[42], and the translation of *Aion Plutonios* must therefore be *Saeculum Frugiferum*. And in fact we find in a cult of Roman North Africa not only this translation, but also the same iconographical pattern of Zeus-Helios-Poseidon that had been applied to Euergetes as Aion, with the sole difference that the supreme god of the Syrians here replaces the supreme god of the Greeks. The principal evidence for this is provided by coins

[38] Damascius, in *Suda* Δ 521 Διαγνώμων (2,52,23ff. Adler): . . . ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἡραΐσκος . . . διέγνω τὸ ἄρρητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενον, ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐτίμησαν, Ὄσιριν ὄντα καὶ Ἄδωνιν ὁμοῦ κατὰ μυστικὴν θεοκρασίαν. Κτλ. E 2744 Ἐπιφάνιος (2,391,29ff. Adler): E. καὶ Εὐπρέπιος ἐγενέσθην Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τὸ γένος ἀμφότεροι καὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τελετῶν νομιζομένων δαημονέστατοι, τῶν μὲν Περσικῶν καλουμένων ὁ Εὐπρέπιος ἐξάρχων, τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὄσιριν ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος. οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑμνουμένου θεοῦ· κτλ. Δαμάσκιος. The first statement is repeated H 450 Ἡραΐσκος (2,579,12ff.).

[39] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos*, 1896, pl. 5; 12.

[40] L. Kákosy, *OA* 3, 1964, 15ff. with pl. 41. Cf. also P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*, 1912, 210ff.

[41] Nonn. *Dionys.* 41,178ff.; Macrob. *Saturn.* 1,9,12. A.-J. Festugière, *La revélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* 4, 1954, 182ff.; 190f. with 191 n. 13; H. G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 1968, 8; 24; 89. More literature in J. G. Griffith, *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride*, 1970, 255.

[42] Zosim. 2,1,1. Zosimus had good sources for this paragraph; cf. F. Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle* 1, 1971, 180ff.; cf. also J. Cousin, *RPh* 17,1943,162ff.

struck in Rome by Septimius Severus blandishing at the beginning of his reign his Caesar and future competitor Clodius Albinus by expressing the customary promises of coming bliss in several reverse types of *Saeculum Frugiferum,* i. e. Aion, as he was worshipped in Hadrumetum (Sousse), Albinus' home town[43].

There is, however, an apparent difficulty. Aion appears on these coins not only as the youthful *kosmokrator* (pl. F, 1; 3–5; G, 1; 3–4; 6–7), with sun-rays at his head, a trident in one hand, and a *caduceus* joined with corn-ears in the other, but also as a bearded Phoenician Baal (pl. F, 2; G, 2; 5). But this puzzle can easily be solved by examining more closely the local cult of Hadrumetum.

This cult was not restricted to that city, but left its traces over wide stretches of North Africa. The inscriptions of this god give him the names of *deus sanctus Frugifer Augustus* (*ILS* 4452), *deus frugum patrius Frugifer Augustus* (*ILS* 4451), *Frugifer Saturnus Augustus* (*ILS* 4449), etc. The great quantity of votive monuments found in his sanctuaries are now conveniently accessible in the excellent survey of M. Leglay[44]. The double iconography of the god is expressed more clearly, however, in the types of the autonomous bronze coinage of Hadrumetum[45] than in these stone sculptures and inscriptions. The following issues of the city offer the evidence:

a) An emission before the Roman colonization:
1) Pl. C, 4; D, 1. HADR. Bust of a bearded male divinity r.; before him a trident. – Rev. Veiled head of goddess to l., wearing a laurel wreath, with scepter behind her[46].
b) Two annual issues after the foundation of the first Roman colony (under Caesar and Lepidus)[47]:
2) Pl. D, 3. C. FABIVS CATVLVS II VIR. Head of a bearded male divinity r., with trident behind. – Rev. D. SEXTILIVS CORNVTVS II

[43] Cf. Géza Alföldy in: *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium 1966–67,* 1968, 19ff.
[44] Leglay, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 120ff.
[45] The latest catalogue of the coinage of Hadrumetum is that of L. Foucher, Hadrumetum, *Publ. de l'Univ. de Tunis,* 1ère sér., 10, 1964, 33–57; 113f. His reproductions are unfortunately not satisfactory. Still indispensable is L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* 2, Copenhagen 1861, 51ff., and Suppl., 1874, 41ff. Essential also G. K. Jenkins, *Syll. Numm. Graec.,* fasc. 42 (Copenhagen), 1969, under Hadrumetum.
[46] Müller, *op. cit.* 2, 51 n. 21. Jenkins, *op. cit.,* pl. 3, no. 58.
[47] The usual view that the first colonization of the city was carried out either by Caesar after Thapsus, or by Lepidus in the early years of the second triumvirate, has not been invalidated by L. Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus,* 1962, 145ff. (with good bibliography).

VIR. Bust of a youthful sun-god in frontal view with three circular haloes, from each of which sun-rays are radiating[48].

3) Pl. C, 5; D, 2; E, 3. The same type, but the youthful head on the rev. has only one nimbus, and the sun-rays form only two circles, one around the head and one around the nimbus.

4) Pl. C, 6–7; D, 4; E, 2. L. FLAAIN. CAPIT. The same bearded head r. with trident; in style and fabric closely related to the obv. of no. 3. – Rev. ..LEIV. PERT. Youthful head with sun-rays around it to r.[49]. The laurel wreath under the sun-rays characterizes the god as Apollo

5) Pl. C, 8; E, 4. Similar, but the youthful head with sun-rays on the rev. is shown to the l. No specimen with readable legends has yet been found[50].

c) Coins of Hadrumetum honoring three governors under Augustus[51], along with Caesar and Augustus with C. and L. Caesares:

6) Pl. C, 9. P. QVINTILI. VARVS. Head of the governor to r. – Rev. HADRVME. The head of the youthful god to the l., surrounded by the rays of the sun and with trident behind[52].

7) Pl. C, 10. L. VOLVS. SATVR(N). Head of the governor to l. – Rev. The head of the same youthful god to the r., with trident behind[53].

8) Pl. C, 11–12; G, 9. AFRIC. FABIVS MAX. COS. PROCOS. VII. EPVL. Head of the proconsul to r. – Rev. HADRVM. Bust of *Saturnus-Frugifer* to r. in the guise of a Punic Baal, with r. hand raised in benediction, the left holding corn-ears, the symbols of *Plutonios-Frugifer*[54].

First a word on the identity of the goddess accompanying the bearded god (pl. C, 4; D, 1) on 1). She is called Astarte in the modern literature. But in a description of a gathering of the gods by the African writer Martianus Capella (to which we shall return below) Saturn enters[55] in the

[48] M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, 1946, 226 no. 1.

[49] Grant, *op. cit.* 227 no. 2; Jenkins, *op. cit.* (n. 45), no. 61–62. These coins are often illegible, and it is therefore not clear whether or not the title II. VIR. followed the names. The obverse shows that the type was the immediate successor of no. 3. E. Groag, *PIR*² 3, 1933, 130 no. 173, misled by an erroneous reading, confused this Flaminius with Flaminius Cilo.

[50] Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 45), no. 22. Jenkins, *op. cit.* (n. 45), pl. 3 no. 59.

[51] Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 45), no. 26–29 and Suppl., 42; Grant, *op. cit.* (n. 48), 228f.; B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Nordafrika* 1, 1960, 22; 26; 38; 49; 2, 1969, 13; 15.

[52] Müller, no. 26 (from the collection of the Comte de Palin). For the date cf., besides Thomasson, *op. cit.*, A. Lippold, *RE* 24, 901f.

[53] Müller, no. 27–28; Jenkins, no. 63. For the date cf. R. Hanslik, *RE* Suppl. 9, 1858.

[54] Müller, no. 29; Jenkins, no. 64–65.

[55] Mart. Cap. 1, 72.

company of Vesta, *nutrix Iovis*. Similarly a number of African inscriptions are dedicated to *Saturnus* and *Nutrix* together[56]. Other names of this attendant divinity of the African Saturn were *Cyria*, the "Queen", which fits well with the scepter on the coin, and the African *Ceres*[57], the mother goddess, who is indicated by the veiled head.

An explanation must also be given for the triple nimbus of the youthful solar god, pl. D, 3. This cannot be anything other than an indication of the three main stages of the sun's orbit, as conceived in the astrological imagery of Syro-Phoenician mythology. These three stages were also expressed in art by embodying the sun in three separate mythical figures. Cumont illuminated this in his masterful study on the altar of Malakbel in the Capitoline Museum[58]. The three representations of this altar, the rising Helios in his carriage of griffins, the Helios resting on the back of the eagle of Heaven, and the image of Saturn mean "le soleil levant, le soleil de midi et le soleil de la nuit"[59]. We begin to understand why the youthful sun-god of our coins is constantly accompanied by the bearded one.

If other variants of the same coin type (pl. C, 5; D, 2; E, 3) illustrate only one nimbus of the youthful sun-god with several circles of rays, this is only the same sort of abbreviation that has been found by H. G. Gundel in the magic papyri[60]. He writes:

> "Bei diesen beiden übereinander angeordneten Sonnenbildern wird man fragen dürfen, ob es sich um eine Teildarstellung des Gedankens der ‚drei Sonnen' handelt, um eine Version des Gottes also, der ‚morgens jung ist und abends ein Greis', und zwar in der Weise, daß das mittlere Bild die Jugend, das obere aber den Gott in seiner ganzen ätherischen Majestät aufweist, wenn er mitten am Himmel steht"[61].

The image of our bearded god is in most cases accompanied by a trident on the coins of Hadrumetum (pl. C, 4–8; D, 1–4; E, 2–4), and he has therefore always been identified as Neptune. But the same trident also

[56] *ILS* 4473; 4475; 4476; 4477; 4477a. The nurse of Jupiter could well belong to the *Juppiter crescens* of the Golden Age; we know by now that *Frugifer* is Aion.
[57] *ILS* 4456; 4457; 4459ff.
[58] Fr. Cumont, *Syria* 9, 1928, 101ff.
[59] Cumont, *op. cit.* 103f.
[60] Gundel, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 89.
[61] Cf. P. XII 217; I 33f. (cf. III 154 XXXVI 220); IV 173 (quotations of Gundel, *op cit.* [n. 41]).

accompanies the concomitant representations of the solar divinity. (pl. C, 9–10; F, 1; 3–5; G, 1; 3–4; 6–7), who in spite of this attribute has been taken to be Sol, – a serious inconsequence. We can now see the real reasons for this duplication. First, Aion in Alexandrian iconography is not only the supreme god and Helios, but Poseidon too: the *kosmokrator* is also the master of the seas. Second, the young and the old god both carry the trident for the simple reason that they are both the same god. We can prove it.

Servius (*Aen.* 1,729) provides the following comment: *QVAM BELVS primus rex Assyriorum . . . quos constat Saturnum, quem et Solem dicunt . . . coluisse, quae numina etiam apud Afros culta sunt. Unde et lingua Punica Bal deus dicitur. Apud Assyrios autem Bel dicitur quadam sacrorum ratione et Saturnus et Sol.*

We have mentioned already the surprisingly good information of Martianus Capella, a late Roman writer from Africa, on the cult of *Saturnus-Frugifer-Aion.* His description of our divinity arriving at a gathering of the gods (1,70) runs as follows: *Verum sator eorum gressibus tardus ac remorator incedit glaucoque amictu tectus caput. Praetendebat dextra flammivorum quondam draconem caudae ultima suae devorantem, quem credebant anni numerum nomine perdocere. Ipsius autem canities pruinosis nivibus candicabat, licet ille etiam puer posse fieri crederetur.*

The blue veil of the god, which like the trident signifies rule over the seas, the *Ouroboros*, symbol[62] of Eternity (cf. pl. E, 1), and the fact that the god appears as an old man but can also be seen as a young boy, all indicate that this is our *Saturnus-Sol.* He was a *Frugifer* in his Syrian homeland too, as Philo of Byblos[63] attests.

As already mentioned, important new evidence for the twofold iconography of Aion is offered to us by the coinage of Septimius Severus for Clodius Albinus, whose home town was Hadrumetum. Merlin, Poinssot and Gagé[64] recognized long ago that the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of these coin types is our *Aion Plutonios.*

[62] For the interpretation of the mystical juggling with the nine letters of the name of the *Ouroboros* cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 1904, 272ff. (on the analogous play with the seven letters of the name of Aion, and similar cases).

[63] Philo of Bybl. in Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1,10,7 = *FGrHist* 790 F 2 (cf. above n. 37): (φησὶ) εὑρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ δένδρων τροφήν.

[64] A. Merlin, *Le sanctuaire de Ba'al et de Tanit près de Siagu*, 1910, 39ff.; M. L. Poinssot, *Nouvelle arch. miss.* 18/4, 98; J. Gagé, *MEFR* 51, 1934, 65ff.

Aion appears on these coins[65] in two different guises, as follows:

a) As a youthful divinity in heroic garb:
1) *Aureus* (pl. F, 1). D. CL. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. Bare head to r. – Rev. SAECVLO FRVGIFERO COS II. The young solar god standing to l., naked to the waist. He holds in his r. hand the *caduceus* with corn-ears, in his l. the trident[66].
2) *Sestertius* (pl. G, 1). Same legend. Bust of Albinus with *paludamentum*, seen from the back. – Rev. Same as above with S – C[67].
3) *Sestertius* (pl. G, 3). IMP. CAES. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. Head r. with laurel wreath. – Rev. As 2)[68].
4) *Sestertius* (pl. G, 4). As 1). – Rev. As 2)[69].
5) *As* (pl. G, 7). As 4)[70].
6) *Dupondius* (pl. G, 6). IMP. CAES. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. Head r. with radiate crown. – Rev. As 3)[71].
7) *Aureus* (pl. F, 3). Same legend. Head with laurel wreath r. – Rev. SAEC. FRVGIF. COS. Aion as on 1)[72].
8) *Denarius* (pl. F, 4). As 7)[73].
9) *Denarius* (pl. F, 5). As 1). – Rev. As 7)[74].
b) As an old Phoenician Baal with his high fez-like crown, long robe to ankles with long sleeves and a *paludamentum*-like drapery, sitting on a high throne, flanked by two sphinxes with "Phrygian" caps; the god raises his r. hand in benediction and holds two corn-ears in his l.:
10) *Aureus* (pl. F, 2). D. CL. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. Bare head r. – Rev. SAECVLO. FRVGIFERO COS II. Baal as described[75].
11) *Sestertius* (pl. G, 2). D. [CL.] SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. Bare head r. – Rev. SAECVLO FRVGIFERO COS. II S – C. Baal as described[76].
12) Bronze medallion (pl. G, 5). D. CLODIVS. SEPTIMIVS. ALBINVS. CAES. Bare-headed bust of Albinus with *paludamentum* seen from the back. – Rev. As 10)[77].

[65] Curtis Clay, who is preparing a corpus of the gold and bronze coinage of Septimius Severus, kindly put at my disposal a survey of the types in question and also the photographs (taken by Miss O. M. Godwin of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) which are reproduced on the plates.
[66] H. Mattingly, *BMC Emp.* 5, 1950, 38 n.
[67] *Ibid.*, 134, no. 541.
[68] *Ibid.*, 119, no. 475.
[69] *Ibid.*, 134, no. 539.
[70] *Ibid.*, 135f., no. 548–549.
[71] *Ibid.*, 126, no. 4, after Coh. 638, Herpin coll.: Probably this specimen, on which the numeral "II" has been lightly tooled in after "COS" on the reverse.
[72] *Ibid.*, 20, no. 4.
[73] *Ibid.*, 20, no. 4 n.
[74] *Ibid.*, 37 mentioned.
[75] *Ibid.*, 38, no. 103.
[76] *Loc. cit.*
[77] Fr. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani* 2, 1912, 73, no. 4.

We have already quoted the statements of archaeologists and historians who realized that the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of the home-town of Clodius Albinus is none other than Aion. The numismatists, beginning with Ch. Lenormant in 1842, realized this even earlier[78]. Yet the duplication of the iconography – or rather triplication, because the *Saturnus* in classical guise of the autonomous types is still another identity of Aion – has remained unexplained.

Two of the best connoisseurs of the religions of North Africa in antiquity[79] tried to get around the apparent inconsequence of having three different representations for one designation by assuming that *Saeculum Frugiferum* was only a conventional allusion to the Golden Age promised by the new emperor to his subjects.

This assumption could possibly be valid in the case of the *denarius* of Pertinax (pl. G, 8), which shows the *caduceus,* the sign of happy tidings, flanked by three corn-ears on each side, with the same legend SAECVLVM FRVGIFERVM. But not in our instance. In the time of Albinus there existed an elaborate inventory of compositions reflecting the promised return of divine happiness, all of which had been repeated again and again in poetry, sculpture, painting, stucco-decoration, and mosaics, and which were known to everbody at least in their simplified forms on coins and finger-rings. The four seasons, leaping through the belt of the zodiac, held by the youthful ruler of the universe; charming putti hopping around the attractive Mother Earth, who lies delightfully in a flowery meadow. Or: the picture of heavenly bliss reduced to such meager personifications as *Felicitas saeculi, Felicitas temporum, Fecunditas, Securitas, Abundantia, Hilaritas, Laetitia.* But in our case we find no trace of these theatrical accessories, no generalities at all: the Syro-Phoenician Baal or Saturn on the one hand, and on the other the youthful supreme god, bearing the attributes of both Sol and Neptunus and a *caduceus* announcing the coming bliss of the world, are specifically and precisely the local version of the theology of Aion, the god of Hadrumetum.

The alternation of the venerable old god – be it Baal in Syrian costume or Kronos-Saturnus in Greek or Roman attire – and the youthful sovereign of the continents and the seas had of course a much broader basis

[78] Ch. Lenormant, *RN* 1842, 90ff. Cf. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 179f.; 181ff.; 218; Nock, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 86f.; Levi, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 297.

[79] G. Ch. Picard, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique*, 1954, 73f.; Leglay, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 12f.

than Hadrumetum alone. We have now grasped its roots, and D. Levi has perceived the same double character of Aion in the pictorial representations, tracing the religious background of this curious phenomenon in the footsteps of Cumont, Reitzenstein and others. We will try here to correct and somewhat deepen Levi's results.

Nock established[80] – without dwelling on the subject – that Mandoulis-Aion was worshipped in Talmis (Nubia) in two forms: as a full-grown man and as "Mandoulis the Child". The double character of Saturnus-Aion is attested not only by Martianus Capella, as quoted above, but also by a mythographer of late antiquity[81]: *Saturnus secundum fabulam cum sit senex, posse fieri puer fingitur, quod commentum ab hac re ortum fertur, quod corpus singulis annis senescere in hieme et reviviscere in vere videtur*[82].

It has not escaped notice that the mystical theology of Aion also influenced the poetry of Synesios, bishop of Cyrene[83]:

Οὐδ' ὁ Βαθύρροος χρόνος οἶδε γονὰς
τὰς ἀρρητούς·
Αἰὼν δ' ὁ γέρων
τὸν ἀμήρυτον
τόκον οὐκ ἐδάη.
ἅμα πατρὶ φάνη
αἰωνογόνος
ὁ γενησόμενος.

And again:

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀγήραος
Αἰὼν ὁ παλαιγενὴς
νέος ὢν ἅμα καὶ
γέρων, τὰς ἀενάω μονᾶς
ταμίας πέλεται θεοῖς.

This divine figure who is named παλαιγενής, νέος ὢν ἅμα καὶ γέρων is of course none other than the παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν in the book of

[80] Nock, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 54.

[81] Mythogr. Vatic., 3rd ed. by A. Mai, in: Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* 2, 1896, 53 § 8.

[82] For all these aspects cf. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 186f.; V. Stegemann, Astrologie und Universalgeschichte, *Stoicheia*, 9, 1930, 26.

[83] Synes., *Hymn.* 1, 245ff. and 8, 67ff.

Daniel[84], the awe-inspiring old man, seen by the visionary with gleaming white hair, seated on his glaring golden throne with his majestic face shining like fire. The same god of Eternity appears in the Apocalypse of John[85]. His eyes radiate like the sun. In his hands he holds the seven planets – which were supposed to start their movements together, directed by Aion, at the beginning of time. He dies and rises again from the dead, he is the First and the Last and lives in the Eternity of Eternities.

This *Antiquus dierum*, who is at the same time a *puer exoriens*, occurs frequently in the liturgical texts of the Church from the late imperial epoch onwards, as Kantorowicz has demonstrated in a brilliant study[86] that is generally ignored by historians of religion.

As we have seen, the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of Hadrumetum (pl. F, 2; G, 5; 9) sits on a high-backed throne and wears a long-sleeved cloak of Persian style reaching to his ankles. The reader, I think, will immediately recognize that the visionary of Patmos describes the same divine apparition when he writes: εἶδον . . . ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσῆν. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκὸν ὡς χίων.

As discussed above, the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of Hadrumetum is also portrayed as a young man in full vitality, just as the Ancient of Days of the Holy Scriptures is celebrated also as a babe. Kantorowicz has shown in another brilliant paper[87] that the same double personification occurs in the liturgy of the feast of Hypapante in the Eastern Church celebrating the meeting of the aged Simeon with the infant Christ: the Παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν, ὃ σήμερον βρέφος ὁρᾶται. Kantorowicz found in Ephraem the Syrian a previous use of this imagery for the same occasion: Simeon testifies that the divine Infant is in fact the Ancient of Days. Kantorowicz even perceived the pre-Christian origin of this concept and the Egyptian roots of the solar character of Aion as *puer exoriens*[88].

The texts and monuments referring to Aion fall into two categories, which are in some cases closely interwoven, in others clearly distinct. One of these is of a truly religious character, connected with worship. We have

[84] *Septuag.*, *Dan.* 7, 9–10; 13; 22. Cf. H. Sasse, *Theol. Worterbuch* 1, 197ff.
[85] *Apoc. Joh.* 1, 13–18; 2, 1.
[86] Kantorowicz, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 28ff.
[87] Kantorowicz, *"Puer exoriens"*, in: *Perennitas; R. Thomas Michels OSB zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1963, 118ff.
[88] Cf. Th. Hopfner, *Plutarch uber Isis und Osiris*, 1940–1941 (repr. Darmstadt 1967), 2, 95ff.; Griffith, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 290; Fr. Boll, *ARW* 19, 1916/19, 342ff.

found documents of this nature in Egypt and in the Syro-Phoenician milieu; we know that with Mithraism the Iranian version of this world-ruling divinity (cf. pl. G, 5) invaded the Roman Empire. We will not pursue this aspect of Aion any further, but instead turn to the second.

This is Aion introducing the returning Golden Age. The expectation of such a divine benefactor and savior by suffering mankind revealed itself as one of the many avenues for the approaching monarchy under the late Republic, and therefore the politicians of that epoch used the happy image of that unique cosmic event as a propaganda trick for their own ascent.

On the other hand, the decorative arts which embellished the life of the private citizen also took advantage of the symbolism of Aion in order to create a happy atmosphere in living quarters or to conjure up the blessings of Elysium in tombs, without the slightest connection to political reality. For both these purposes Aion was of course suitable and desirable not as the austere old man, but only as the miraculous child, the *nascens puer* of the *aurea aetas*, or as the almighty young *kosmokrator*.

The iconography of this latter was based, as we have seen, on the iconography of Helios, and quite naturally so, since Helios played such a fundamental role in the Hellenistic concept of Aion[89]. The heroization of Alexander the Great in the court art of the *diadochoi* left its imprint on the new type of the sun-god as master of the world. The shining young god of Eternity who carries Antoninus Pius and Faustina to heaven on his mighty wings in the famous relief from the base of the column of Antoninus gives us a good idea of this concept[90]. Different is the Aion who conjures up the perfect bliss of Paradise in the decorative art of private houses: a tender

[89] Cf. the texts quoted and the conclusions reached by Delatte, *MB* 17, 1913, 138f.; Cumont, *CRAI* 1928, 279; Zepf, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 234; 240; K. Holl, *SPAW* 1917, 426ff.; Kroll, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 67ff.; Norden, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 24ff.; 41; K. Horna, *SAWW* 207, 1928, 7ff.; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 36; *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 201; Nock, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 53ff.; esp. 63; 85; 96 = 1, 383; 394f.; Fauth, *Kl. Pauly* 1, 185ff. (bibl.).

[90] Deubner, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 14ff. (The Aion-Helios of Mithraism with the lion's head is to be separated from this statuary type. The snake climbing upwards in the sky represents the sun's orbit: cf. Cumont, *Textes et monum. figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* 1, 79f.); O. Brendel, *Studies in Honor of F. W. Shipley*, St. Louis, Mo., 1942, 73ff.; H.-P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo 1947, 25ff.; Fr. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmannsprogr.* 1967 (1968), 1ff., would identify this Aion with Zephyrus. But he is surely the ruler of the Kosmos, for he holds in his hand the globe of the heavens, which is characterized by the zodiac, the planets, and the snake of the ecliptic. The globe cannot be a mere accessory to the apotheosis. The industrious survey of Lisè Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 1973, 32ff., brought few new results.

youth surrounded by charming putti and beautiful female figures in an enchanting spring landscape[91].

Aion Pantheus. – Ptolemaios Euergetes as Aion is at the same time Zeus, Helios and Poseidon, as we have seen. But under the prevailing influence of the concept of Helios in the Near East and in Egypt, Aion came to encompass in his nature even more divinities than these three. We have already mentioned that in those regions the sun-god was imagined to change his shape three times in the course of each day. He was also supposed to assume a different form for each of the twelve different signs of the zodiac through which he passed[92]. In the wake of such conceptions of Helios Aion too became *poikilomorphos*, a sort of Proteus who could change his appearance and assume the identity of any other divinity whether male or female[93].

> "The essence of this notion", wrote Reitzenstein[94], "is that the sun-god or moon-god is on the one hand the god who creates, on the other hand the heavenly ether, and yet also the god of time: his various forms of appearance and subordinate deities, as they constantly recur, continually make up afresh the One, the Unchanging, and accordingly the Creation and the World in their perpetual renewal. It would be interesting to know whether the mysticism of the Hellenistic age ever formed a specific and to some extent technical designation for this curious being, who was of course able to adapt himself to various national divinities. In any case we can even now take notice that in Hellenistic prayers (the Egyptian god) Thot, who can assume any form, is referred to as ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας ἐν ταῖς ὁράσεσιν Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος. Moreover, in the very prayer that gives his names at the different hours of the day, *agathos daimon* is called *plutodotes Aion*. Finally the same moon-goddess who is invoked through the twelve names and the twelve angels that she has for the different hours is praised in another prayer as follows: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις· ἐκ σέο γὰρ πάντ' ἔστι καὶ εἰς Αἰῶνα τελευτᾷ. She is *Aion*. Isis is of course the goddess of creation, the goddess of the moon and *Sophia*, and *Sophia* is equated with *Aion* in the papyri. It seems possible that this concept of the simultaneous multiplicity and unity of the godhead can give us some insight into the puzzling usage of the word *Aion*".

[91] Cf. the last survey of this theme by J. W. Salomonson, *La mosaique aux chevaux de l'antiquarium de Carthage*, 1965, with bibl. 127ff., and pl. 45.

[92] Cf. the texts quoted by Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 168 n. 4.

[93] The literary evidence is collected by Lackeit, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 87ff.

[94] Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 269f.; *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 172 n. 2.

Some historians of religion have thought that Aion was a late product of the syncretistic dilution of the local cults[95]. Such an outstanding scholar as G. Wissowa claimed[96] that the *aureus* of 42 B. C. (pl. I, 2–4), to which we will return, is "the oldest example of a Pantheus-representation". This is an error which distorts our knowledge of the religions of Hellenism. After the octadrachms struck by Ptolemy IV for his father, Aion next appears on the reverses of Pharnaces I, king of Pontus (190–169 B. C.) (pl. I, 1)[97]. The identification of this standing figure with Aion is assured by the star in the crescent in the left field, which indicates in abbreviated form the original constellation of the seven planets at the beginning of the world. The thunderbolt above his head characterizes him as Zeus. The Persian-style soft tiara, the chiton, chlamys and perhaps also the high boots derive from the outfit of Mithras. The cornucopiae in his left hand is the symbol of *Frugifer*, the *caduceus* of course of Hermes. The vine at which a doe is nibbling indicates a connection with either Dionysos or Artemis[98]. An Aion made up of components from a very similar combination of gods immediately comes to mind: the Apollon-Mithras-Helios-Hermes of Antiochos IV of Commagene[99], another country in the same part of the world.

Aion and the Dream of his Paradise in Rome. – The enchanting dream-world of Aion is, like every social utopia, some sort of a straightjacket, embroidered with heavy gold threads, studded with precious stones and thus marvellous to look at. Mankind is dying of desire to own it and put it on; yet when it succeeds to do so, the beauty vanishes and only the pitiless enforcement prevails.

For the historian these two phases in the establishment of the idea of an earthly paradise introduced by Aion, or better by an earthly leader supplanting him, are the same two stages that mark the gradual transition

[95] W. H. Roscher wrote in his *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* 1, 195: "Eine späte Personifikation der Zeit oder Ewigkeit."

[96] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Romer*, ²1912 (repr. 1971), 91 n. 6; K. Latte, *Romische Religionsgeschichte*, 1960, 334, mentions Pantheus as an example for "das Schwinden des Gefühls für festumrissene Götterpersönlichkeiten".

[97] Fr. Imhof-Blumer, *Nom* 6, 1911, 14, and pl. 2, 1. Rec. général p. 11 no. 4 = pl. 1, 9. This is a tetradrachm. A gold stater is in the *SNG*, Germany, Aulock, no. 3.

[98] The grazing stag on the coins of Mithradates VI with a star in crescent must refer to the myth of origin that we know from other sources. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates*, 1974, 69; 85; 90; 102; 126 n. 139; 155; 197.

[99] *OGIS* 1, no. 383 v. 55.

of the Roman state from republic to monarchy. First came the overwhelming desire of suffering mankind for salvation and hence the enormous attraction of new mystical theories promising it. Then the doctrine was quickly appropriated by the aspirants for power as a vehicle for their ascent. The announcement of heavenly bliss just knocking at the door becomes a device and those in power use the pattern which proved to be so attractive to the populace. Our question is: when did the concept of Aion reach Rome and what was the process by which it took root? The evidence is meager. But the coinage of the late Republic, a source that has not yet been examined from this point of view, yields a series of essential data. These are:

1. In earlier articles in this series we uncovered the Ptolemaic pattern heralding the return of the Golden Age on an annual emission of *denarii* from *ca* 139 B. C. The divinity implementing the renewal of the primordial world-happiness is Apollo who is at the same time Jupiter, just as in the *Fourth Eclogue*. He is Aion[100].

2. From around 115 B. C. the head of Veiovis, an old Latin (or Etruscan) divinity, begins to appear on the *denarii*, and his image inundates the emissions of the Marian party between 87 and 84 B. C. This god was Jupiter as well as Apollo; the attributes of Neptunus and Mercurius that also appear with him show that he must be the *interpretatio Romana* of Aion. The bucolic abundance and the symbols of Bacchus and the Dioscuri on these coins hint at the influence of Alexandria, as does the type of Amor breaking the thunderbolt of the supreme god – an announcement of the coming bliss of the universe[101].

3. A statue of Aion with dedications (to which we referred above)[102] was erected in Eleusis by three Romans, Aulus Pompeius and his brothers Quintus and Sextus, in the late republican epoch. There is a good chance that one of these brothers, Quintus, is identical with the Pompeius Bithynicus who was present in Asia Minor in 75/74 B. C.[103].

[100] A. Alföldi, *RN* sér. 6 13, 1971, 76ff.; *Id.*, *Chiron* 3, 1973, 131ff. The two corn-ears hint at the abundance brought by Aion. However, they could allude at the same time to the *arista*, the chief star of the constellation *Virgo*.

[101] A. Alföldi, *Chiron* 2, 1972, 215ff.

[102] Cf. above n. 15.

[103] Cf. on this person Drumann & Groebe 4, 321; 593; T. R. S. Broughton, *MRR* 2, 100; E. S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, 1974, 198. Cf. also on persons with the *nomen* Pompeius in the late Republic in the East Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.* 4, 1881, 193.

4. The expectation of the conflagration of the Universe in the *ultima aetas* and its subsequent rebirth obsessed the nobility and the simple people alike in the age of the civil wars[104]. In the perplexing medley of current dreamy theories, in which old gods were combined with recent scientific observations in the sky, Aion played a key role. Sulla, who in his memoirs preached to his successors to follow the lead of the heavenly powers instead of their own sober considerations[105], and the optimate consul of 87 B. C., Cn. Octavius, who abandoned himself to astrologers and soothsayers, may be mentioned as reminders of the impact of this mass infection. The Romans, hoping to hear that the great rebirth of the universe would happen in their time, needed experts other than despised foreigners for the evaluation of those hazy doctrines. One such renowned specialist was P. Nigidius Figulus, praetor in 58 B. C., whose tract on the *sphaera barbarica* expounded the Ptolemaic version of the teachings in question[106].

5. In the years when Cinna and Carbo were in power, symbols of Isis and Sarapis and motifs of the sacred Nilotic landscape appear as little pictorial mint-marks on the *denarii*. After 64 B. C., when the cult of Isis was outlawed in Rome, these symbols disappear. But in 52 B. C., when Pompey in an attempt to bring about his own appointment as *dictator* encouraged the riots of the mob, the curule aedile M. Plaetorius Cestianus placed the bust of *Isis Panthea* – so close to *Aion Pantheus* – on his *denarii*. This happened at the time of a bloody persecution of the Isiac community in Rome. Earlier, on *denarii* that he struck in 61 B. C. as *triumvir monetalis*, Cestianus had already alluded to the Sibyl's promise of a new Golden Age, which was of course to be implemented by Pompey[107].

6. As everybody knows, the comet which came into view in July 44 B. C. during the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* was taken to be the *katasterismos* of *Divus Iulius*. Such a star of special kind suddenly emerging in the sky was of course normally interpreted as a sign sent by Heaven to announce the arrival of a cosmic savior. In the case of Caesar's star the character of *Aion Frugifer* as savior can easily be grasped in the *Ninth Eclogue* of Vergil, written not too long after the event (lines 47ff.):

[104] A. Alföldi, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 165ff.
[105] A. Alföldi, *op. cit.* (p. 1 n. *), 152.
[106] *P. Nigidii Figuli opera*, ed. A. Swoboda, 1889 (repr 1964), 35ff.
[107] A. Alföldi, *Schweizer Munzblätter* 5, 1954, 25ff.; cf. *idem*, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 165ff.

Ecce Dionaei Caesaris processit astrum,
astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.

7. Another kind of Astral divinization of Caesar was brought about by astronomers – I suppose soon after Caesar's death and in Alexandria – when they rebaptized a sidereal constellation as *Caesaris thronos*[108]. I have shown elsewhere[109] that *aurei* of Octavian, struck in the summer of 43 B. C. and showing Caesar's golden seat with the snakes of the sun and the moon climbing up on it and facing each other on its top (pl. H, 6), represent exactly this renamed constellation in the sky. The combined symbols of sun and moon were often used as an abbreviated reference to the primeval configuration of the seven planets, when the *saeculum frugiferum* started.

8. The second triumvirate, intent on wiping out their republican enemies of the upper classes, adapted their politics to the taste and mentality of the army and the simple people, who longed for another Caesar, or at least a friend of the people in his style. Therefore, immediately after their seizure of power, they decided to build a state temple (certainly *intra pomerium*) to Isis and Sarapis, whose worshippers had till then been severely persecuted[110]. Furthermore, as their coinage of 42 B. C. shows, they posed as saviors and benefactors of the world, and this not only in the Roman way, as Cassius Dio reports[111], but also in the fashion of the successors of Alexander the Great[112].

The first supervisor of the annual emission, L. Livineius Regulus, still had some freedom to develop an individual concept. His first types advertise the glory of his father and stress the importance of his own function[113]. Then, however, he was ordered to put the heads of the three des-

[108] Plin. *n. h.* 2,70,178: *septentriones non cernit Trogodytice et confinis Aegyptus, nec canopum Italia et quem vocant Berenices crinem, item quem sub Divo Augusto cognominavere Caesaris thronon, insignes ibi stellas.*

[109] A. Alfoldi, *Hermes* 86, 1958, 490ff.; *idem, RN* sér. 6 15, 1973, 122ff.

[110] Cass. Dio 47,15,4 (43 B. C.): καὶ νεὼν τῷ Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι ἐψηφίσαντο. Cf. my remarks, *op. cit.* (n. 107), 25ff., and P. Lambrechts, *Augustus en de egyptische godsdienst*, Brussels 1956, 3ff.

[111] Cass. Dio 47,13,3: . . . καὶ ἐκείνοις (τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσι λέγω) . . . ὡς εὐεργέταις καὶ σωτῆρσι τῆς πόλεως γεγόνασι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο.

[112] The best inventory of that series of gold coins is to be found in M. von Bahrfeldt, *Die romische Goldmünzenprägung*, 1923, 50ff., supplemented by the die-study of T. V. Buttrey, *The Triumviral Portrait Gold of the Quattuorviri Monetales of 42 B. C.*, 1956.

[113] A. Alfoldi, in: *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offertes à W. Seston*, 1974, 1ff.

pots on his *aurei* and *denarii;* the accompanying reverses, following a tradition established earlier in the century by other members of the oligarchy, glorify famous or divine ancestors of the *triumviri.*

The two following *quattuorviri monetales,* P. Clodius M. f. and L. Mussidius Longus, change over their pictorial creations to the style of the court-propaganda of the *diadochoi:* they exalt the three men in power – whose heads occupy the obverses – as supermen, whose coming to power coincides with the advent of the *Saeculum Frugiferum.* Four reverses of their *aurei* express this common theme:

a) Aion, the *pantomorphos theos*[114], is featured on the remarkable *aureus* pl. I, 2–4. He stands putting his r. foot on the *globus* as the divine ruler of the universe. Around him are the symbols or attributes of seven (or eight) gods, whose combined powers define his heavenly supremacy. These divinities are: *Frugifer* (cornucopiae), Mercurius (*caduceus,* cf. pl. H, 2; 4), Jupiter (eagle), Sol (sun-rays), Apollo and/or Diana (*chignon* on the neck, quiver and bow)[115], Victoria (wings), and Mars (shield). In the Pseudo-Clementine writings, as Reitzenstein observed[116], Aion is composed of seven individual gods too.

b) No less eloquent is the second reverse of P. Clodius, struck in both gold and silver (pl. I, 5–6). The crescent of the moon and the five stars (meaning the planets) on the reverse, together with the head of Sol-Apollo on the obverse exhibit the primeval constellation in which Aion resumes the direction of the universe.

c) The types of L. Mussidius Longus in gold and in silver are a well-planned complement to those of his colleagues. First the head of Ceres with a wreath of corn-ears (sometimes combined with a *stephane*) (pl. I, 7–8); on the reverse the same wreath, indicating the exuberance of the *fruges.* We should not forget that joyful behavior became obligatory[117] for everyone in that year, under threat of severe punishment.

d) The cornucopiae with the heads of the triumvirs (pl. I, 9–11) on the *aurei* of Mussidius, a Ptolemaic device, expresses with the captivating simplicity of a good poster the carefree abundance that was to result from the Golden Age.

[114] Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 172 n. 2.

[115] Cf. Nigidius Figulus who identified Aion with Janus in Macr. *Sat.* 1,9,5ff.: *Ianum eundem esse atque Apollinem et Dianam . . . et in hoc uno utrumque exprimi numen.*

[116] *Ibid.* 168 n. 4. Cf. the texts quoted in *Homil.* 3, 20 and *Recogn.* 2, 22 *(Griech. christl. Schriftsteller* 42, 1953, 64; 51, 1965, 65).

[117] Cass. Dio 47,18,4–5.

e) Finally, the *denarius* of Mussidius (pl. I, 12) combines with the head of *Divus Iulius* a well-arranged set of symbols of cosmic rule and cosmic happiness.

9. Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* was composed in the course of the year 41 B. C. to celebrate the investiture of Asinius Pollio with the consulate on New Year's Day of 40 B. C. The *aurea aetas* arrives, under the guidance of Aion, when the patron of the poet holds the highest office in the state.

Just as the sun, as we saw above, is reborn every day and passes from infancy in the morning to manhood at midday and old age in the evening, so Aion enters a similar cycle upon the rebirth of the universe. He is born again as a marvellous boy, ripens to manhood in the middle of the *saeculum frugiferum*, and decays to a *vetustus dierum* at its end. His earthly substitute had to adapt himself to this role ever since the days of the rejuvenated Euergetes on the golden octadrachms. It is rather surprising that Octavian stated that he felt himself reborn in the comet of Caesar in July 44 B. C.; after him this fiction of the convergent role of the heavenly and the earthly ruler and savior, which had been invented in the Egypt of the Ptolemies, became a commonplace[118].

Yet the incongruity of equating a mere human being with the almighty god Aion remained. Vergil overcame it by jumping back and forth between the mythical prototype and the earthly representative in the inspired mystical mood of a Bacchic dithyramb.

The *nascens puer*, with whom the Golden Age starts, as nature is suddenly transformed into a paradise (l.8ff.; 18ff.), is an offspring of the gods, nay, baby Jupiter himself (l.49). He partakes of the life of the gods and enjoys their company (l.15ff.; 64); he will become the ruler of the universe (l.17). This is clearly the pattern of Aion.

On the other hand, the *puer* grows to school-age and reads mythology and history like every human child (l.26f.). He will come to man's estate and attain high honors – I suppose that high magistratures are meant (l.48) – and Vergil would like to live long enough to celebrate his deeds in poems (l.58ff.). The most plausible guess of our sources is that this human *puer* who follows in the footsteps of Aion is the child of Pollio[119].

[118] A. Alföldi, *Hermes* 58, 1930, 380f.

[119] We must not forget that the day of the investiture and not the whole consular year was the occasion for which the poem was written. In 41 Pollio was still a partisan of Antony, who was at war with Octavian. Cf., e. g., J. André, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollion*, 1949, 20f., etc.

The die-engravers who prepared the golden octadrachms with the effigy of King Euergetes as Aion, transforming the aged man into a youngster, faced this same dilemma of the dichotomy between the human and the divine[120]. The usurpation of the role of Aion by Euergetes set a precedent which affected the *Fourth Eclogue* of Vergil and the propaganda of the "saviors" of imperial Rome.

120 My warm thanks are due to all those who helped me in preparing this study. I offer my thanks to the keepers of the great national collections and the expert coin dealers who provided the casts or photographs reproduced here: H. D. Schultz in Berlin-East; A. Cormack in Boston; A. Kormann in Copenhagen; G.-A. Mansuelli in Forlì; A. Robertson in Glasgow; G. K. Jenkins and R. A. G. Carson in London; B. Overbeck in Munich; E. Paolini-Pozzi in Naples; J.-B. Giard in Paris; Fr. Panvini-Rosati in Rome; N. Leipen in Toronto; W. Binsfeld in Trier; L. Michelini-Tocci at the Vatican; G. Dembski in Vienna; and L. Mildenberg in Zurich.

C. Clay selected for me from his own research material the coins of Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus that are reproduced on the plates. J. F. Gilliam kindly read the manuscript and improved the English.

Per Ålin

Mycenaean Decline – Some Problems and Thoughts*

Recent years have seen quite a lively discussion on the end of the Bronze Age in the Aegean area[1]. The stimulus for this has come from the great increase in archaeological material available for study, not only in Greece but in the eastern Mediterranean in general. Archaeological and other sources are used in more or less discriminating interpretations, which attempt to form an overall picture of the developments leading to the end of Mycenaean civilization and the transition to the early Iron Age. Most of these interpretations accept the validity of Greek tradition at least as long as this can be supported by the finds. Since the aim is to write a history of these crucial centuries, the highly skeletal archaeological material is frequently dressed up with the fleshy details of tradition. However interesting, the solutions arrived at must necessarily be highly subjective and can only be judged according to the standard of plausibility. Whether or not one accepts this or that interpretation becomes a matter of personal preference.

These recent years have, however, also seen the rise and acceptance of what could be called a *communis opinio* on various important developments in the Mycenaean world. Certain statements are treated as facts and repeated time and again in different publications although there can be

* The following article is offered in gratitude to my mentor in the field of Mycenaean studies who, with enthusiasm and understanding, steered me onto a path with no end in sight.

[1] No general bibliography can be given here. The topic (or aspects of it) is treated in numerous books and articles. In general, see G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, 1966; V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, 1964; *idem*, *CAH* 2³, 2, 658ff.

Abbreviations: *MME* = W. A. McDonald and R. H. Simpson, in: W. A. McDonald and G. Rapp (eds.), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, 1972. – *EmF* = P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, 1962. – *PoN* = C. W. Blegen and M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, 1, 1966.

serious questions as to their validity. Consciously or not, these questions are often forgotten in the desire to present a coherent picture. Since it is obviously important that we in our enthusiasm over past and present achievements do not forget the many limitations to our understanding that still exist and will always do so, I shall in the following pages discuss several of these problems and their implications. Out of this discussion some general conclusions on the decline of Mycenaean civilization are then developed.

Mycenaean Greece is usually seen as culminating in the Late Helladic III B period, the time of the great fortifications and palaces surrounded by prosperous settlements and with the countryside dotted with hundreds of smaller communities. There are of course signs of disturbances but the amounts and spread of finds of the LH III B period are assumed to correspond to a generally flourishing and well populated Mycenaean world. This favourable picture is supported by overwhelming statistics, not only in comparison with the following period, LH III C, but also in comparison with the previous one, LH III A, although in this case to a lesser extent[2]. It is, however, easy to forget that our statistics in such a large measure are based on surface finds and not on excavations. This means that we are best informed about the last period or periods of settlement. It can thus only be expected that LH III A is less well represented, at least in statistics of sites[3]. But there is some evidence that this is not necessarily the case at individual excavated sites. So does the settlement pottery at the Argive Heraion, Berbati and Nichoria seem to show better representation for LH III A than for LH III B[4]. Although less satisfactory as evidence the tombs at the Heraion, Asine and also Mycenae point in a similar direction[5]. There is of course not necessarily any connection between amounts of sherds and vases and the size and duration of a population. More excavations carried down to greater depths may, however, support a modified view of relative prosperity in different Mycenaean periods, even if LH III B still has to remain the leader in the area of monumental construction. But this together with some other indicators could be interpreted as signs of declining fortunes.

[2] Cf. F. H. Stubbings, *CAH* 2³, 2, 350; *idem*, *Prehistoric Greece*, 1972, 89, using statistics from *EmF* 148, to prove expansion in LH III B compared to LH III A.
[3] Cf. *MME* 138.
[4] Cf. *EmF* 38; 40; W. A. McDonald, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 237; *MME* 138.
[5] *EmF* 22; 38f.; 48f.

The destruction of the palace at Pylos with its inventories of tablets and vases constitutes a particular problem, which is frequently overlooked. This destruction is usually routinely dated to the end of the LH III B period with no consideration given to the disturbing fact that on the floors of the burnt palace, in the destruction layer, were found vases which, according to Blegen, if found in a different context "would be unhesitatingly attributed to the succeeding style of III C"[6]. A study of these vases, particularly the deep bowls completely coated with dark paint and the one with what possibly could be a crude version of the antithetic spiral pattern in a reserved zone, makes one agree with the excavator[7]. Normally, these would be classified as Granary Style and in fact they have made some of us question the commonly accepted date for the Pylos destruction to the end of LH III B[8].

Regarding the pottery in the burnt palace one can make the general observation that it contains local peculiarities, which may be explained as the survival of certain preferences, possibly due to the comparative isolation of the western Peloponnese. This is seen in the several amphorae decorated in what looks like a degenerate version of the Palace Style[9], but particularly in the predominance of the *kylix*[10]. As is well known, the general context seems to point to a date late in LH III B, a time when at the great centers in the Argolid the *kylix* has been overshadowed by the deep bowl in popularity[11]. It is to be noted, however, that this date is based on the indications from comparatively few vases, mainly the ones mentioned above and a few more deep bowls, decorated in varieties of the panel style[12]. All these were found on floors in different rooms of the palace but not in the pantries[13]. Their infrequency seems to make it clear that they did not belong to the standard repertoire of the palace manufacture and, if it were not for the statement to the contrary by the excavator[14], one would like to regard them as intrusive.

[6] *PoN* part 1, 421.
[7] *Ibid.*, 397f.; part 2, fig. 385, 594; 1172; 1176; 677.
[8] *EmF* 83; P. Åström, in: *Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia (Rome 1967)*, 1967, 1091; *idem*, *Gnomon* 40, 1968, 284; Blegen himself hesitant: cf. *PoN* 1, 422.
[9] *PoN* 1, 354; 390ff.; 2, fig. 379–380.
[10] *PoN* 1, 366ff.; 2, fig. 359ff.
[11] *BSA* 68, 1973, 304ff., fig. 4–5.
[12] *PoN* 1, 397f.; 2, fig. 385. For similar LH III B:2 vases from Mycenae and Tiryns, cf. *BSA* 64, 1969, 80ff., fig. 5–7; *Deltion* 20, 1965, 137ff.
[13] *PoN* 1, 354.
[14] *PoN* 1, 421.

Another complicating circumstance can be found in a comparison between the palace and the surrounding area. Fortunately, the south-western Peloponnese has been intensively surveyed for Mycenaean sites[15]; to the extent that this evidence can be used the numerous find places in the area seem to show no particular lack of fragments from deep bowls or *kylikes*, which are usually so common among LH III surface finds[16]. Many of the fragments of deep bowls are completely coated with paint which apparently is a local variant, appearing already in LH III B as the stratigraphic material from Nichoria has shown[17]. One of the Pylos vases of this type could probably be considered as being from LH III B; two others look definitely later. Although local tendencies exist, it is obvious that this part of the Peloponnese must have been in touch with developments in the Argolid. There seems to be a difference, however, between the palace and the surrounding area which is difficult to explain.

Blegen attempted to solve the problem of the apparently late vases by postulating the destruction of the palace at a time when LH III B was giving way to LH III C; that is, when features of LH III C style were already noticeable on the pottery. In principle then he was actually arguing in a similar way as those who would rather date the destruction in the time of fully developed LH III C pottery and regard the LH III B character of most of the pottery as a sign of local retardation[18]. The destruction of the palace should thus be dated by the latest vases and not by the general context. The problem is only that the latest vases seem to be fully comparable to Granary Style, which is no longer early LH III C. It is difficult to accept preservation of pottery or retardation over such a time-span, particularly since the surrounding area does not seem to show similar tendencies.

A way out of this dilemma, although no solution to the problem, is to adopt what may be called a functional approach. As the Linear-B tablets clearly show, the palace at Pylos was the administrative and economic center for a large area in the south-western Peloponnese up to its very end. Here existed an interrelationship between the palace and smaller and larger communities in the vicinity and farther away. Obviously, many of these

[15] Results published in *MME*.

[16] *EmF* 77; 87 n. 99. This was evidently not the opinion of Blegen, cf. *PoN* 1, 354. Survey reports by Simpson, *BSA* 52, 1957, 231ff.; *BSA* 55, 1960, 67ff.

[17] *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 259f., pl. 50d. This is also apparent from Simpson's reports and my own observations.

[18] *PoN* 1, 421; cf. above n. 8.

communities must be identical with the settlements located by archaeological surveying in recent years[19]. These surveys have shown that there is a dramatic decline in occupation from LH III B to LH III C with probably not more than one in ten surviving into the latter period[20]. If the evidence is approximately correctly dated (which we should have reason to assume), this must mean that the palace also ceased to exist at the same time. The tablets furnish the proof that the palace did not exist after the settlements were gone and the latter prove that the palace did not exist in LH III C since it could not and did not function in a vacuum. Even for the meticulously excavated palace at Pylos we are thus left with vexing problems and have to accept the LH III B date for the destruction – the disturbing vases notwithstanding.

A considerable amount of progress has in recent years been achieved on the important work to establish reliable sequence-dating for the LH III period in general. Using the rich material from various deposits on and below the Acropolis of Mycenae, which as the center of Mycenaean civilization from beginning to end is the natural standard to be used, Dr French and her co-workers have been able to define the different sub-periods in a way which was not possible with the limited find groups available to Furumark forty years ago[21]. Of particular importance has been the division of LH III B into two sub-periods, B:1 and B:2, which confirmed what was previously suspected: the destruction-level pottery from the so-called Klytaimnestra-Group of houses in the Lower Town of Mycenae belongs to the earlier part of LH III B[22]. This also seems to be the case with some other areas outside the citadel. Thus it appears evident that major destructions took place long before the end of LH III B: these were not followed by rebuilding, although under normal conditions this could reasonably have been expected in some locations. The destruction of Zygouries evidently also belongs to this early sub-period[23] and it is

[19] Cf. J. Chadwick's discussion of Pylian place names, *MME* 100ff., which may be estimated to have numbered about 200.

[20] *AJA* 73, 1969, 124ff.; 175f.; *MME* 143.

[21] *BSA* 58, 1963, 44ff.; *BSA* 59, 1964, 241ff.; *BSA* 60, 1965, 159ff.; *BSA* 61, 1966, 216ff.; *BSA* 62, 1967, 149ff.; *BSA* 64, 1969, 71ff.; *BSA* 68, 1973, 297ff.; *AA* 1969, 133ff. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, 1941 (repr. 1972), had only few stratified settlement excavations available for study.

[22] *BSA* 62, 1967, 149ff.; cf. also *EmF* 18f. For this destruction in LH III B:2, cf. W. W. Rudolph, *Tiryns, Forschungen und Berichte*, 6, 1973, 102 n. 126.

[23] *BSA* 62, 1967, 184 n. 99.

probable that future investigations will turn up more evidence of a similar nature – now that the tools for recognizing it are available.

The situation found at Mycenae further supports the previous argument that the pottery evidence from some sites suggesting greater prosperity in LH III A than in LH III B may have a foundation in reality[24]. LH III B as a whole should possibly be considered a "time of troubles", during which some sites were abandoned, some show a decline in population or were destroyed. It thus seems possible to suggest that Mycenaean decline may have been a long drawn-out process.

The obvious question at this point is how palaces and *acropoleis* fit into this picture of early decline, since it is well-known that major enterprises of rebuilding and expansion of fortifications and palaces belong to the middle and second half of LH III B. If a cause-and-effect relationship between what happened in LH III B:1 in lower towns and settlements and what followed on the *acropoleis* is postulated, there is no major problem. However, if one regards the developments in palace centers and on *acropolis*-hills in isolation from the communities below, a different picture may emerge. The former view would suggest weakness, the latter strength. From the material in its totality it seems that the former view is preferable; it is supported by evidence for minor and major destructions at various points during the latter part of LH III B and LH III C at Mycenae and Tiryns[25].

To any discussion on the end of Mycenaean civilization belongs the question as to the date for the "fall" of Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and other major sites. Since the word used suggests some military action or the like, as some traditions relate, it really should not belong in a discussion which is attempting to interpret the evidence independently of any traditions. The question should rather be restated in the following manner: when does that event take place after which the particular palace center cannot have functioned in the same position and capacity as before? This is what in the case of Pylos was called the functional approach, which seems to be generally applicable. As in Messenia the palace in other parts of Mycenaean Greece should be related to its surroundings.

[24] McDonald and Simpson (*MME* 138) note that most tomb construction takes place before LH III B, but point out that resources may have been used for other purposes in LH III B. Mylonas, *Mycenae's Last Century of Greatness*, 1968, 11, maintains that prosperity continued undisturbed until the end of LH III B. Cf. also *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 224.

[25] *EmF* 24; 36; and references for individual locations.

In spite of the problems the case of Pylos is comparatively clear-cut. For the other known centers, the end of LH III B is probably also the best choice, since not only does the pottery-evidence in connection with destroyed palaces seem to favour this view, but the greatly reduced finds from settlements, tombs and areas in general indicate that, whatever the role of the particular palace center was in the latter part of LH III B, it cannot have functioned in the same way in LH III C. This is becoming increasingly clear also for the eastern Peloponnese and probably also for central Greece, although surface surveying has in these areas not been as intensive as in Messenia[26]. Against this view it could be argued that the evidence from Mycenae and Tiryns points to some new construction and renewed prosperity in LH III C and there is a scattering of sites with pottery from this period[27]. This does not seem enough, however, to postulate a continuation of the palaces in their previous capacity. Depending on the particular situation it thus seems possible to answer important questions regarding a palace by studying the surrounding area. The evidence from both should complement one another, which is also what we find. But whether or not this approach is useful really depends upon the causes for the decline, which will be discussed below. Anyway, it may probably be stated with reasonable confidence that Mycenaean palace-civilization, as it had developed during the course of some centuries, came to an end with the events that culminated around the close of LH III B. But this, however, did not mean an end to Mycenaean civilization.

After the cataclysmic interlude at the end of LH III B the long drawn-out process of Mycenaean decline continues in LH III C. Although most settlements indicate a discontinuation of occupation, others are still settled but on a reduced scale; some flourish, however, and others are newly established, particularly in outlying areas[28]. Here and there are indications of new destructions, as at Mycenae and Lefkandi[29]. This general decline continues down to the end of what is considered the Mycenaean Age proper, after which a Submycenaean stage becomes recognizable at several locations[30]. This whole development is primarily seen in the changes

[26] *EmF, MME,* and R. H. Simpson, *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites,* 1965.
[27] Mylonas, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 31ff.; *EmF;* Simpson, *op. cit.* (n. 26).
[28] Desborough, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 98ff.
[29] M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964–66,* 1968, 5.
[30] C. G. Styrenius, *Submycenaean Studies,* 1967, *passim* and particularly 151ff., has clearly demonstrated that Submycenaean pottery must have been in use contempo-

taking place in the shape and decoration of Mycenaean pottery. These changes occur through the development of certain tendencies, which can be observed already in some LH III B pottery and which can be followed throughout the LH III C period and into Submycenaean pottery. This is exemplified both in Close Style and in Granary Style pottery. It is of course true that some new stylistic features are taken up, but these do not change the basic course of this development. This continuity was clearly recognized by Furumark when he called Submycenaean pottery LH III C:2[31].

The previous discussion has dealt with some of the many symptoms of decline but not with their causes. As is well-known, many different causes have been suggested – such as returning Heraklids, invading Dorians, Sea Peoples, hit-and-run raiders, civil wars, subjects against rulers. Common to all of these is that they are man-made. A new category has been introduced by Carpenter in the form of the natural disaster, in his specific proposal of climatic change resulting in drought[32]. In order to simplify the discussion one may thus talk about man-made and natural causes.

As was stated above, a study of the palace in relation to its surroundings is useful in attempting to define a cause for decline, at least in terms of one of the two basic categories. Occasional destroyed settlements, palaces or parts of both could have been caused either accidentally or intentionally. Accidental fires certainly must have been quite common and should probably account for a fair share of proven fire destructions in Mycenaean times. However, if it is possible to establish with reasonable probability that many of the fires and destructions are contemporaneous over a large area, then these may be considered man-made.

In the case of the Klytaimnestra-Group destructions at Mycenae it was proven through the finds that these were man-made. However, it is hardly possible to define the cause further in terms of internal or external, from inside or outside the Mycenaean area. The general destruction horizon with the apparently contemporary abandonment of most settlements at the

raneously at many locations in different parts of Greece. The arguments by Desborough, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 17ff.; 81f.; *idem, The Greek Dark Ages,* 1972, 32f., and A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece,* 1971, 31ff., making Submycenaean a local phenomenon beginning before the end of LH III C, are therefore unacceptable.

[31] Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 576ff.

[32] R. Carpenter, *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization,* 1966. For criticism of his thesis see, e. g., Desborough, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 22; *MME* 40; 142f.

end of LH III B seems to have an external, man-made cause[33]. If an internal agent is postulated one would expect this to survive more or less intact. A scenario for this would be the destruction of the palaces and fortresses by the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. These were certainly less dependent upon the palace than the palace upon them. The evidence shows us, however, that both palace and settlement were destroyed, abandoned or reduced in size. Since practically the whole mainland Mycenaean area seems to be involved in this process, the agent for these developments should be looked for outside this area. The possibility of a natural cause should also be tried but falls upon the difficulty to explain the fire destructions, just as it is difficult to explain why so many sites are abandoned because of a man-made cause. It is of course possible to suggest a scenario with a combination of both, such as a natural cause leading to man-made ones. However attractive and plausible this may seem, it will always be difficult to find sufficient evidence for it.

It thus seems that what happened at the end of LH III B should be considered of external origin involving human agents[34].

[33] So Desborough, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 22f., suggests withdrawing invaders; likewise McDonald and Simpson, *MME* 143, think of recurrent sea-borne attacks. Cf. J. B. Rutter, *AJA* 79, 1975, 17ff., for non-Mycenaean pottery, probably of Balkan origin, at several Mycenaean sites in early LH III C contexts, which suggests an intrusive population element that could possibly be connected with the destructions, although Rutter (31) remains sceptical.

[34] This brief statement may seem like a disappointment: at least it cannot be said that it disappoints by stating *too much* about the developments leading to the end of the Mycenaean Age.

E. Badian

A Document of Artaxerxes IV?

On August 31, 1973, French excavators at the Letôon of Xanthus found a limestone stele 1.35 m high, which turned out to bear inscriptions in Greek and Lycian respectively on its two faces and in Aramaic on one of its sides, all in excellent condition. The exciting discovery was published with remarkable speed in *CRAI* 1974, no 1, by three French scholars: the Greek text by M. Henri Metzger, who also gave an account of the stone itself and of the circumstances of its discovery (82–93); the Lycian text by M. Emmanuel Laroche (115–125); and the Aramaic text by M. Dupont-Sommer, Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions (132–149). Each section contains a text (the Lycian and Aramaic in transcription), a translation and a preliminary commentary.

The Greek starts: "When Pixodarus son of Hecatomnus became satrap of Lycia, he appointed Hieron and Apollodotus *archontes* of Lycia and Artemelis *epimeletes* of Xanthus." It goes on to describe the foundation of a cult by joint decision of the Xanthians and the *perioeci,* and ends by stating: Πιξώταρος *(sic)* κύριος ἔστω.

Metzger points to the historical difficulties surrounding the title 'satrap of Lycia' for the Hecatomnid and gives a summary of what little is known about Lycian history in the 4th century B. C. down to Mausollus' occupation of the province. We must note that Pixodarus is in fact satrap of Lycia and that the administration of the satrapy is divided between two Greeks, while Xanthus has its own Lycian governor. But the last line seems to make it clear that, whatever the functions of the *archontes* and the *epimeletes,* it is the satrap himself who has to ratify local decisions.

The Lycian text is inevitably less certain in its interpretation, and indeed much of the interpretation is based on the Greek, to which most of it corresponds. As the editor points out, while this is not a Rosetta Stone, it helps considerably in the understanding of Lycian texts of a similar nature. The opening formula of the text appears to correspond precisely to the Greek (some of the Lycian words were not known before), with many

interesting linguistic features (not least the fact that the name 'Apollodotus' is not transcribed but translated), but nothing new in substance. The final phrase of the text, though it contains the name of Pixodarus, could not at the time of publication be interpreted by the editor or brought into any relation with the Greek, owing to our defective knowledge of Lycian vocabulary. One presumes that the sense must correspond. Certainly, no names other than that of the satrap are mentioned.

The Aramaic text, in Chancery Aramaic ("Reichsaramäisch"), was, as its editor points out, constitutionally the most important, and this was made visually clear by the disposition of the stele. The engraving was done, with artistic flourishes, by a craftsman ignorant of the language, and the editor lists several mistakes and inaccuracies. But the sense, after M. Dupont-Sommer's labours, is entirely clear: it is an official proclamation by Pixodarus (here described as satrap of Caria *and* Lycia), giving effect to the local resolution and cursing any offender against the sacred law.

As the various editors point out, the document gives a remarkable picture of the working of local institutions under Persian rule. But our immediate concern here is with the fact that the satrapal proclamation is dated. The date is "In the month of Siwan [about June-July] of year 1 of Artaxerxes the King."

What year is this, and which King Artaxerxes?

M. Dupont-Sommer presents the main case, since the question arises out of the Aramaic text; though Metzger already anticipates the conclusion. According to this interpretation, Artaxerxes is the last King known by this name, Artaxerxes (III) Ochus; it follows that the year is 358, the year in which (probably) that King succeeded his predecessor Artaxerxes (II) Mnemon.

On that premiss, difficulties arise. As Metzger points out (and Dupont-Sommer agrees), Pixodarus first appears in our historical record no earlier than 340/39, down to which year his sister Ada is attested in sole power in Caria. He was clearly the youngest of the Hecatomnids, whose relative ages can readily be deduced from the order of their succession: Mausollus, Artemisia, Idrieus, Ada, Pixodarus (Dupont-Sommer 139)[1]. How does he suddenly come to be satrap of Caria and Lycia

[1] On the Hecatomnids and the historical and epigraphical evidence for their history, see G. Bockisch, "Die Karer und ihre Dynasten", *Klio* 51, 1969, 117ff.; J. Crampa, *Labraunda, The Greek Inscriptions*, Part 2, 1972, 5ff. (with ample bibliography). For the sake of simplicity I here omit the "joint rule" of a sister-wife, especially as the brother-husband was demonstrably regarded as superior in standing (Crampa, *loc. cit.*).

– i. e., it seems, over the whole of the Hecatomnid territory – in 358, years before the death of the great Mausollus, who seems to have been the first to seize Lycia for his dynasty from its rebel 'king' Pericles[2]?

An ingenious and exciting case is made out (139ff.). The new testimony being regarded as "parfaitement clair" as to its date, the history of the Hecatomnid dynasty has to be rewritten, to accommodate Pixodarus at that date – not only as satrap of Lycia (that alone would be easy: one could postulate a minor charge under the rule of his eldest brother), but as satrap of Caria *and* Lycia, i. e. in full control of the dynastic territory. In other words – thus Dupont-Sommer (140) – Pixodarus found himself in complete power in 358, while Mausollus was out of power "no doubt for quite a short period". Mausollus then returns, to remain in power till his death in 353/52, while Pixodarus disappears from history for about nineteen years – neither in power nor defeated and (as one would expect after rebellion) punished. It is only in 339 that he reappears, to seize power from his sister Ada, as he had – we are told – seized it from his brother Mausollus on the first occasion. This is, as M. Dupont-Sommer rightly judges, an "histoire assez complexe", and, as he adds, one totally lacking historical attestation in any source whatsoever, and developed only to account for the date in this new Aramaic text.

In support of the complex *ad hoc* hypothesis, Dupont-Sommer (140 n. 1) cites Isocrates 5,103f., a well-known enigma where Isocrates dredges up all causes of dissatisfaction in the Persian Empire and hopes of possible co-operation with Philip. Among those, he mentions that Idrieus, "the best supplied of all the mainland princes", must feel resentment towards the power that "inflicted torture[3] on his brother, waged war against

The literary sources ignore it, and they are only technically wrong. The dates of the Carian dynasts must be chiefly based on Diodorus, who followed a chronographic source. He gives Mausollus' date of death as 353/52 and adds that Artemisia ruled for two years, i. e. down to 351/50 (16,36,2). Idrieus is given seven years (16,45,7), i. e. down to 344/43, and is followed by Ada for four (16,69,2), i. e. down to 340/39, at which time Ada is "expelled" by Pixodarus, who then rules "for five years until Alexander's crossing to Asia" (16,74,2), i. e. 335/34. The crossing and Alexander's arrival in Caria can be securely placed in 334: Diodorus' chronology is thus confirmed and should be accepted. Metzger and Dupont-Sommer, without discussion, give the date of Ada's expulsion as 341/40, and Dupont-Sommer gives the date of Pixodarus' death as 335 (140).

[2] The evidence is given by Metzger 87f.

[3] Dupont-Sommer, with proper scholarly fairness, chooses a minimal meaning ("maltraiter") for the verb (αἰκισαμένην). In fact it is clear that in Isocrates' use (cf. 4,123 and 154) it refers to brutal physical punishment: "torture" is by no means too strong.

himself, and is all the time plotting against him, wishing to seize his person and all his wealth". Isocrates goes on to say that it is only out of fear for his life and property that Idrieus is paying tribute to the King.

This last, I suppose, we may well believe, and the orator's general charge can be discounted: no satrap would have paid tribute if he felt strong enough to discontinue it. But there is certainly no other record of Idrieus' ever being formally at war with the King, and even Isocrates dare not allege it for the time of his speech (346). In fact, the incidents alleged – the torture of Mausollus and the war against Idrieus – are very hard to place. Although Isocrates no doubt exaggerates for his rhetorical purpose, there must be a minimal basis of truth. The form of words – Isocrates speaks of the *arche*, and not of the present King Artaxerxes Ochus, as responsible for the various acts of hostility – is likely to imply that at least some of those acts belong to the time of the previous King, Artaxerxes Mnemon: it would clearly have suited the orator much better to stress reasons for hostility against the present King Ochus (rather than against the Persian *arche*, vaguely conceived), had he been able to do so. The Mausollus incident – whatever in fact happened – is most easily put in the context of the dynast's brief flirtation with the Satraps' Revolt, near its beginning; though the story is difficult to believe, since it is not recorded that Mausollus personally ever fell into the King's hands[4]. When a Persian King can have fought against Idrieus is even harder to conjecture, seeing that in 351/50, straight after his accession, Idrieus was sent by the King to invade Cyprus (Diod. 16,42,6). Admittedly, a chance remark in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, no less than the Isocrates passage, shows us how little we really know of the history of these Carian dynasts[5].

The question is: how and when does the otherwise unattested "torture" of Mausollus fit in?

[4] If he had while in revolt, he would hardly have got off so lightly: the King's way of dealing with captured rebels, from Darius to Alexander the Great, is consistent and well attested. Bockisch (in a way characteristic of that compilation) quotes the Isocrates passage (*op. cit.*, 150 n. 5), but does not pause to discuss or evaluate it.

[5] For the date of the Cyprus affair, there should be no need (and this is not the occasion) to refute Beloch's chronological fantasies. For the mysterious remark, see Arist. *Rhet.* 3,1406 b 26: "Androtion [*FGrHist* 324 F 72] said about Idrieus that he was like puppies unleashed; for they attack and bite you, and Idrieus too, freed from bonds, was a threat." Bockisch (*op. cit.* [n. 1]) hypothesizes that Idrieus was captured as a messenger from Mausollus in the Satraps' Revolt, and then released. But this is pure fancy, and he would hardly be particularly dangerous to Athens just after his release on such an occasion. It could equally well have been a rebel satrap who had captured him; or Mausollus who, owing to some family quarrel, had imprisoned him and later released him. We simply do not know, and there is little point in guessing.

Dupont-Sommer assumes (140f.) that the "disgrace" of Mausollus occurred in the turmoil of Ochus' accession to the throne; that Pixodarus "by skilful intrigues succeeded in taking the place of his elder [i. e. eldest] brother", and that he "at once took the necessary steps to establish his authority": it is for this reason that, "as we are taught by the Greek and Lycian texts of the trilingual, he established new *archontes,* Hiero and Apollodotus, in Lycia and a new governor of Xanthus, Artemelis", i. e. he put his own men into high administrative posts in his province. Although Pixodarus was loyal to the King, as is shown by his using the royal year-count, Mausollus was before long restored to favour. Dupont-Sommer admits (141) that no record of all these events remains in ancient historians or in the inscriptions and coins. But the testimony of our Aramaic text is "si clair et si authentique qu'il suffit, à lui seul, je pense, à établir l'existence d'un premier gouvernement de Pixodaros comme satrape de Carie et de Lycie en 358". On his premiss, the argument is indeed coherent and logical.

We have seen how little we know of the detailed history of the Hecatomnids, and this bold historical combination cannot be formally disproved. But let us note some facts that perhaps limit its plausibility.

Above all, of course, there is the fact that Pixodarus is not mentioned by the only source – Isocrates – that gives us any inkling of trouble between the King and the Carian dynasts. An argument from silence only; but then, we have little other than silence in this whole affair.

It is also clear, even on our limited evidence, that any royal disfavour for Mausollus cannot have lasted long. We have a document of the fifth year of Artaxerxes Ochus (354/53), showing that by this time relations were obviously good[6]. This, of course, is admitted, and makes little difference. Four years would be quite long enough for the reversals that Dupont-Sommer assumes. But another question arises: Pixodarus was the youngest of the three brothers. Would the King, if Mausollus had indeed fallen into disfavour, have ignored Idrieus and the rights of primogeniture? On the other hand, could Pixodarus have *seized* power without royal recognition, and established it over both Caria and Lycia?

More important, as perhaps so often, is a call to caution. We must beware of over-interpreting. There is no reason whatever to think that the

[6] *SIG*[3] 1, no. 167, third document. The second in that file is still dated under Mnemon (361/60). *SIG* gives 357 to 355 as the date of no. 168 (the Erythrae honorary decree), but this is a pure guess. In fact this document cannot be dated. The Iasus decree (*SIG*[3] 1, no. 169) bears a local date, but it is meaningless to us.

archontes of Lycia (whatever their function, on which we learn nothing) or the governor of Xanthus are new appointments. The picture of Pixodarus, having just seized power (or been granted it by the King), at once putting his own men into high office is pure modern interpretation – a further, detailed, consequence of Dupont-Sommer's hypothesis. On the stone, the names seem to be mentioned only for formal purposes, and nothing is said about the length of their tenure (any more than about that of Pixodarus himself) – for all we can tell, they may all have been there for years, and some of them very probably had. Obviously, they would not be men hostile to him. But there is no indication that he had actually *first* appointed them (for his formal "appointments" may well in fact have been mere confirmations) – not to mention that he had done so recently.

We must keep facts and interpretation separate. The relevant *facts* are that we have a document dated in Siwan of the first year of a King Artaxerxes; that Pixodarus is satrap of Caria and Lycia; and that various of his subordinates are named. Everything else is interpretation, which – however plausible and coherent – may turn out to be right or wrong.

Some of that interpretation seems less plausible on close scrutiny. Let us continue to ask questions. It is assumed (140) that the disgrace of Mausollus and the rise of Pixodarus in his place are part of the initial 'clean sweep' by the new King. It has to be pointed out, however, that there is little time to accommodate the suggested events. We are only in the third month of the first year of Artaxerxes, i. e. (on this reckoning) in June-early July 358[7]. This seems to be between about four and about seven months after Ochus' accession[8]. It seems highly unlikely that in that short time (say, five or six months) the new King would have succeeded in deposing Mausollus (hardly an easy job – we have no reason to think he was physically in the King's power or would depart without resistance) and imposing Pixodarus, and – to follow the interpretation advanced to the fullest – the latter would have had time to put his own men in key

[7] R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B. C.–A. D. 75* 1956, 35: the third month begins June 10.

[8] See data in Parker-Dubberstein *(op. cit.* [n. 7]) 19. The latest known document of Artaxerxes Mnemon is dated at Babylon on November 25, 359, i. e. he must have died between that date and April 11, 358 (Nisanu 1 of the following year: see *op. cit.* 35). The time before Nisanu 1 would be his "accession year", which in chronographic year-count would later be regarded as his predecessor's. Although there is no positive evidence for the use of the "accession year" dating under the last Achaemenid kings, it is generally assumed that it continued down to the Macedonian conquest.

posts. Even if we drop this last (but by no means necessary) guess, the time seems short for such a violent transformation, in view of the attested power of Mausollus.

Indeed, if the view of Dupont-Sommer is to be in general upheld, it would be much simpler to assume that Mausollus had fallen into the hands of Artaxerxes *Mnemon*, at the time when he was connected with the Satraps' Revolt, had been "tortured" by him and kept a prisoner at court, and that Pixodarus' appointment dates from that time – that, in fact, it was Ochus who, after his accession (and it need not even have been very long after), decided to restore the chastened Mausollus, who henceforth remains loyal to him. As we have seen, Isocrates' wording suggests that the "torture", if it did occur, occurred in the earlier reign, and this passage is our sole justification (for what it is worth) for assuming that Mausollus at any time fell from power[9].

Unfortunately, this causes such chronological difficulties that it cannot easily be suggested. The chronology of the Satraps' Revolt is impenetrable[10], and the fact that Diodorus (15,90ff.) tells the major part of the story under 362/61 is not decisive. However, since we find Mausollus loyally counting by Artaxerxes Mnemon's forty-fifth regnal year (360/59)[11], he must have *either* returned to his allegiance *or* not yet rebelled at the time of that inscription. If the former, then the interpretation just suggested must be abandoned. If the latter – the only basis on which it can be advanced – then we not only have to move Diodorus' account down two years, but we come into insoluble conflict with the better attested chronology of Agesilaus' last years of life and events in Egypt[12]. The seemingly best way of reshaping Dupont-Sommer's hypothesis so as to fit in with all the evidence must therefore be abandoned.

Having reached our impasse, we must reexamine our premiss. As we have seen, the difficulty may arise out of confusing fact with interpretation. The relevant *fact* we have is an inscription of the first year of Artaxerxes, showing Pixodarus as satrap of Caria and Lycia at this time – that and no more. Now, we know (as we have seen) that Pixodarus was

[9] Though, as we have seen, it is difficult to believe that he was actually captured while in revolt and was allowed to live. Certainly, none of our sources has any hint of such dramatic *peripeteiae* in his fortunes.

[10] See Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* 3^2,2, 254ff. His neat chronological table (257) is, as so often, optimistic.

[11] *SIG*^{3} 1, no. 167, document 2.

[12] See Beloch, *op. cit.*, 3^2,1,215ff.; 3^2,2,125.

satrap from 340/39 to 335/34. Could the document belong to that period? It was a disturbed period in the Persian Empire, and it saw no fewer than two changes of monarch. Ochus was murdered in 338/37 and succeeded by Arses, who was himself eliminated after two years and succeeded by Darius Codoman (Darius III)[13].

We may here recall a peculiar statement by Diodorus, to the effect that Artaxerxes Mnemon's reign was so great and successful that the Persians "renamed his successors and ordered them to bear his name" (15,93,1). Diodorus uses this rather implausible story to explain why Ochus adopted the royal name Artaxerxes. The Loeb translator duly points out that the explanation does not seem to apply to Arses and Codoman[14]. But Diodorus is surely right to the extent that the adoption of *a* royal name would be a necessity. Is Arses the only Achaemenid King who failed to adopt one?

Let us turn to the canons. On the cuneiform side, the Saros Canon is, alas, uninformative. Since it abbreviated the King's name (under his year 1) to the first syllable, it here appears as *ar–*. We do not really know what this stands for[15].

There is some ambiguity in the Greek chronographic sources even about the name of Ochus. Jerome's *Chronicle* (p. 120 Helm) gives his name and length of reign as follows: *Artaxerxes qui et Ochus ann. XXVI.* (In all his other references [pp. 121f. Helm] he is simply called "Ochus", and his successor is *Arses Ochi filius.*) Even more explicit, in a way, is *Comm. in Dan.* 665: *alium Artaxerxem qui appellatus est Ochus* (also followed by *Arsen Ochi filium*).

The tradition can be traced in all chronographers based on Jerome: Jordanes (*Rom.* 69) and the various writers collected in Mommsen's *Chronica*

[13] See, for the present, Beloch, *op. cit.*, 3^2,2,130f., and cf. further below.

[14] Diod. vol. 7, p. 212 n. 1, in the *Loeb Classical Library*. The translator refers to "the first Artaxerxes", which means that the "law" had not been observed in the case of the rulers intervening between Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes II. That would make the story, even for Diodorus, excessively inane. Fortunately Diodorus tells it in connection with the death of Artaxerxes II and the succession of Ochus, and the *Loeb Class. Library* translator's version is pure fantasy. The fact that Codoman (if that was his name: see n. 20) did not adopt the name "Artaxerxes" might be explained by the fact that that name was discredited by recent events – particularly if the view suggested in this article is correct.

[15] Information provided by Professor A. Sachs, of Brown University, the latest editor of the Saros Canon, in a letter to my colleague William L. Moran (letter of March 25, 1975), who kindly wrote to him and to Professor Grayson, of the University of Toronto, to put this puzzle to them. My thanks are due to all three scholars. On the Babylonian sources, see further n. 22 and *Appendix*.

Minora[16]. It is confirmed as Eusebian by the Armenian version (p. 152 Karst) and by the fact that we also find it in the *Chronicon Paschale* (168d).

There is nevertheless a persistent tradition in Greek chronography, which does not give Ochus his royal name, indeed sometimes *contrasts* him with Artaxerxes (Mnemon). Ὦχος ὁ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς (Sync. 486) implies some such contrast. (Similarly, e. g., the *Marmor Parium* [*FGrHist* 239 A 77].) Dionysius of Telmareh (31, quoted Euseb. 7,2, p. 359 Helm) says "Arthashasta died and Ochus ruled" – the contrast is explicit. In Latin, Sulpicius Severus (*chron.* 2,13,9) has: *Artaxerses regnavit . . . eique Ochus successit.* This last is particularly interesting, as it may not be from Eusebius. For he continues the list (*op. cit.* 2,16,7): *Ochus XX et III annos regnavit . . . hunc Bagoas spado aegrotantem venenis sustulit*[17]. (Arses, son of Ochus, and Darius follow.) Syncellus, on the other hand, who can here hardly be based on anyone other than Eusebius, describes Bagoas explicitly as "one of the Persian officials" (and he says nothing about the manner of death). In particular, the Egyptian king-list, ultimately going back to Manetho[18], seems to have listed the Thirty-first Dynasty as follows: Ochus, Arses, Darius. Syncellus gives the list in this form from both Africanus and Eusebius.

There is, of course, no doubt that Ochus adopted the royal style of Artaxerxes. It is amply attested in documents as well as in chronography. But it is noteworthy that in chronography, for the sake of convenience, there was a tendency to ignore it and to contrast him with the Artaxerxes who preceded him: no one reading most of the Greek chronicles can even tell whether the authors knew that he too was called Artaxerxes. More interesting still, the list of the Thirty-first Dynasty, not even containing an Artaxerxes, but (of course) listing each king by one name only, chose the name "Ochus" for him – unlike the last Achaemenid King, who appears as Darius.

[16] Prosp. Tir. (1,397, lines 213 and 217); *Chron. Gall.* (1,636, l. 204: *qui et Echus* – Arses is omitted); Isid. Iun. (2,448, l. 186 and l. 190: *Xerxes Ochi filius* – the name is clearly due to textual corruption, and various MSS seem to show intermediate stages); Bede (3,274f., l. 185 and l. 190).

[17] Cf. also the *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle (FGrHist* 255), 4. It too gives the names in the form Ochus, Arses, Darius. The contrast between "Artaxerxes" (II) and "Ochus" also appears in Iust. 10,3.

[18] Syncellus, both from Africanus and from Eusebius, notes the end of Manetho's work (with his third book): p. 145D and 146D (cf. also 486D [muddled]). Eusebius' reference to this is amply confirmed (Hieron. p. 121 Helm, with notes p. 363).

Finally, the great Royal Canon, where Kings actually have their numerals, in the modern fashion. It is quite startling to see the royal name of Ochus ignored; the sequence runs[19]: Artaxerxes II (Ἀρταξέρξου δευτέρου), Ochus, Arogos *(sic)*, Darius III[20].

The canonical figures of regnal years for Arses vary from 2 to 4[21]. Probably at least some genuine differences in year-count lie behind this, and not always mere copying error. But the number of calendar years, at any rate, was small and in fact cannot have been much over two. Now, if there is anything at all in Diodorus' report of the law imposing the name of Artaxerxes, it is very likely that Arses also adopted that name: he would be only the second from Artaxerxes II, and had he not done so, it is difficult to see how the story could even have started. In any case, he needed a royal name. But if he did adopt the name of Artaxerxes, it would not be surprising, especially in view of the shortness of his reign, if the chronographic tradition, which so nearly deprived Ochus of his attested royal name, had conspired to ignore it. It would not be unreasonable to hazard the hypothesis – to be tested by any evidence that may yet appear – that he indeed followed the "Persian law" and called himself Artaxerxes. He had good precedent. Both Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes II had borne the personal name "Arses" before their accession, as the Babylonian documents amply attest[22].

Let us now look at our trilingual on the basis of this simple hypothesis. The first year of "Artaxerxes (Arses)" would presumably be the year

[19] Theon, *Commentaire*, 1,139f. Halma (cf. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte*, 306).

[20] In the Babylonian documents Darius III's personal name appears (repeatedly) as Artašat. It is very strange that there is no trace of this in the Greco-Latin tradition, which offers "Codomannus" (Iust. 10,3,3f.: twice). The difference does not seem to have been noted, at least by students of Greek history (nothing, e. g., in Beloch or in Bengtson, no mention in Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2, 116). It is difficult to think of an explanation. The difference is far greater than in the case of Ὦχος, which appears in Babylon as "*ú-ma-su*" (pronounced, Professor Sachs kindly informs me, "uwas" or "owas"); though even this seems hard to explain.

[21] Syncellus gives three years from Africanus and four from Eusebius; the latter is confirmed by Hieronymus (p. 122 Helm) and other writers in the Eusebian tradition. Theon's canon has two. There is no point in listing all the chronographers on this.

[22] Information kindly communicated by Professor Sachs (cf. n. 15), who put his list of astronomical texts (some of them unpublished) for the whole Achaemenid dynasty at my disposal and added a new (unpublished) text, which will be discussed below (see *Appendix*). It is difficult to express adequate thanks to one who, being the only scholar in possession of this vital information, unhesitatingly went to the trouble of not only sharing it with me, but writing it out for me in his own hand. The least I can do is to put the fact on record.

starting on Nisanu 1 (= April 19) of 337. Now, at that time we *know* that Pixodarus was in power. No rewriting of history is necessary, no invention of intricate chapters of royal vacillation and of "Bruderzwist", without fatal outcome, in the earlier years of the Carian dynasty – chapters by no means explained (as we saw) by Isocrates' enigmatic piece of rhetoric.

It therefore seems the most economical hypothesis, at present, to date the trilingual in the reign of Arses and to regard it as our first dated document of the short reign of that King. Even if it thus loses its consequences of violent and unattested *peripeteiae* in the middle years of the fourth century, its historical importance would by no means be lessened[23].

Appendix. – Professor A. Sachs has sent me an astronomical text transcribed by him at the British Museum and not yet published, along with a complete file of Babylonian astronomical texts from the Achaemenid period (see n. 22). It mentions Alexander as Great King and also refers to an event of a year (numeral lost) of "Arses, son of Umasu (= Ochus: cf. n. 20) [called] Artaxerxes". It would be pleasant to report that this illuminates the question of Arses' hypothetical royal name. Alas, it does not. No edges are preserved and the length of line is therefore uncertain. The word for "called" is missing, as is the word for "King" (both of them would normally *follow* the royal name): the latter must have been there, as Alexander appears as "Great King". The royal name "Artaxerxes" presumably refers to the father (Ochus), not to the son named before (Arses), but since the royal *title* ("King") can only have been given once, directly referring to Ochus but by implication covering Arses, it is perfectly possible that the royal *name* ("Artaxerxes"), also given once, was also intended to apply to both. We simply cannot tell. Comparison with the other documents of this type does not help. This style of nomenclature is unparalleled in the whole series we have. Indeed, there is only one other filiation on record anywhere: "Darius (II), son of Artakahiši" (thus in the transcription quoted by Professor Sachs – the name, which ought to be "Artaxerxes" in its Babylonian form, needs further inspection). Which is quite different and, even if the puzzle over the patronymic were resolved, is no help. The documents concerned give royal or personal names, or both, without any rule I have been able to deduce.

The only cheering aspect of all this is the fact that new relevant late Akkadian documents are still turning up, and some day one of them may settle our problem.

[23] I should like to thank M. Dupont-Sommer for helpful correspondence on this whole matter. He has invited me to add my alternative reconstruction to the definitive publication of the trilingual, which will in due course appear, and has meanwhile permitted me to support it here by more extensive argument, for the judgment of a distinguished scholar who has always been well aware of the importance of Persian history to the historian of Greece.

A. B. Bosworth

Alexander and Ammon

The association of Alexander the Great with Ammon, the desert god of the oasis of Siwah, was one of the favourite themes of antiquity. As early as 290 B. C. Lysimachus struck his famous tetradrachms portraying Alexander with the horns of Ammon, and in ancient literature Alexander is consistently depicted as the son of Ammon. The most elegant essay on the theme is probably Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead,* which present Philip in Hades gently satirising his son's pretensions to divine paternity[1]. In modern scholarship, however, the picture is far less clear; few subjects in fact have generated such controversy[2]. The disputed territory is wide and the problems complex, but in this essay I shall confine myself to two crucial and intractable issues, the influence that Ammon had on Alexander in the years after his visit, and, above all, the time when Alexander first entertained the idea of his divine filiation. Both these issues have been illuminatingly, if briefly, handled by Professor Schachermeyr, and many of the ideas here expressed may be traced back to his great history of Alexander. It is gratifying and appropriate that a detailed study of the evidence largely corroborates the conclusions which the proportions of his work permitted him merely to adumbrate.

[1] Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 12,1; 12,5.

[2] For full bibliography see J. Seibert, *Alexander der Große,* 1972, 116–125; cf. E. Badian, *CW* 65, 1971, 37ff.; 77ff.

The following works are referred to by the author's name alone: H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage,* 1926 (repr. 1973); H. Strasburger, *Ptolemaios und Alexander,* 1934; W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* 1948, vol. 2; J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch: Alexander,* 1969; K. Kraft, "Der 'rationale' Alexander", *Frankfurter Althistorische Studien,* 5, 1971; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse: Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens,* ²1973. Two classic articles by U. Wilcken form the basis of modern research: "Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa", *SPAW* 1928, 576–603; "Alexanders Zug zum Ammon: ein Epilog", *SPAW* 1930, 159–176. Both articles are conveniently reprinted in Wilcken's collected papers (*Opuscula II: Berliner Akademieschriften zur alten Geschichte und Papyruskunde,* I [1883 to 1931], 1970). The reprint retains the pagination of the original publications, to which I refer in my citations.

One basic premiss for the discussion is now certain. In Greek eyes, and in the eyes of Alexander himself, Ammon was a Libyan manifestation of the Hellenic god Zeus. As early as 462 B. C. Pindar had equated the two deities, describing Cyrenaica as the *themethla* of Zeus Ammon, and in an undated fragment he hailed Ammon as lord of Olympus[3]. The equation persisted to Hellenistic times, when a certain Phaestus, a poet of alarming obscurity, invoked Ammon as the Zeus of Libya[4]. Zeus and Ammon are assimilated to each other in the Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period[5], and Iuppiter Hammon is a familiar figure in the literature and inscriptions of Roman times[6]. The evidence for Alexander's own attitude is fortunately clear. The court historian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, consistently referred to Ammon under the name of Zeus. In the whole of his description of the visit to Siwah, as excerpted by Strabo, there is not a single reference to the god as Ammon[7]. Few will believe that Callisthenes, writing under the eye of Alexander, did not refer to the god in the manner customary at court and approved by the king. There is also the evidence from the contemporary Nearchus. When the fleet put into Carmania after the voyage along the south Persian coast, Alexander expressed his joy and relief by a solemn invocation of "Zeus of the Hellenes and Ammon of the Libyans". This was not an invocation of two distinct and separate deities but a prayer to the same god in two different guises[8]. In other words, both Callisthenes and Alexander regarded the god of Siwah as the local manifestation of Zeus, whose indigenous name happened to be Ammon. If, then, he was saluted by the local priesthood as son of Ammon, he could and would have interpreted it as implying the paternity of Zeus.

Alexander might have interpreted the priest's welcome to Siwah as confirmation that he was son of Zeus Ammon. To gain an idea how seriously he regarded that relationship we must examine the role that the

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 4,16; fr. 36 Snell, quoted by a scholion to *Pyth.* 9,90 (c) to explain the reference to Cyrene as the κᾶπος Διός.

[4] *FGrHist* 593 F 1; J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 28. The testimonia give different titles for the work *(Lakedaimonika* or *Makedonika)*. About Phaestus himself nothing is known except his date in the Hellenistic period; cf. Stoessl, *RE* 19,1608 (Phaistos, nr. 5).

[5] *SEG* 8,551,25–26; L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscr. religionis Isiacae et Serapicae*, 1969, nr. 324; *IG* 12,2,484 = *IGR* 4,116 (reference to Ammon Eleutherios)

[6] E. g. Cic. *nat.* 1,83; Lucan. 9,511–514; *ILS* 4425–4428.

[7] Strabo 17, C. 813f. = *FGrHist* 124 F 14.

[8] Arr. *Ind.* 35,8 = *FGrHist* 133 F 1. For the first interpretation see Tarn 350 and for the second R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great*, 1973, 524. On Nearchus cf. now E. Badian, *YCS* 24, 1975, 147–170.

Libyan god subsequently played in Macedonian court life. Wilcken was surprised by the dearth of evidence attesting any relationship between Alexander and Ammon after the Siwah visit, and both Tarn and Kraft have pressed the argument from silence[9]. Could Alexander really have represented himself as the son of Zeus Ammon if he never sacrificed to him or displayed any especial veneration for him in public? It is true that Arrian records no public ceremony in honour of Ammon until the occasion in late 326 when Alexander poured libations into the Acesines in honour of Heracles, Ammon, and the other gods[10]. But how significant is this silence? It is not only Ammon who drops out of the record of sacrifices. No ceremony in honour of Zeus himself is recorded after the sacrifice at Memphis in spring 331. There are only passing references in Arrian's *Indica* to sacrifices to Zeus Soter in commemoration of the safe return of Nearchus[11]. But it is wholly inconceivable that there was no sacrifice to Zeus during the years 331–325. Olympian Zeus was the traditional tutelary deity of Macedon, and during the first years of Alexander's reign there is a consistent record of sacrifices and public ceremonies in his honour[12]. The fact that the sources mention no celebrations after 331 is no evidence that they were discontinued. There is no significance in the silence of the sources about sacrifices to Ammon. But Arrian's account of the Acesines libations is important. He says that Alexander poured libations to Heracles his forefather, to Ammon, and to the *other* gods whom he was accustomed so to honour[13]. The implication is overwhelming that Ammon was included among the deities "whom he was accustomed so to honour"[14]. What is more, Arrian's account of the journey down the Indus breaks a long silence about religious ceremonies to specific deities[15], and Ammon is significantly prominent. At the mouth of the Indus the king

[9] Wilcken 601; cf. Tarn 351; Kraft 66.

[10] Arr. 6,3,2.

[11] Arr. *Ind.* 36,3 and 9; 21,2.

[12] Arr. 1,11,1 (cf. Diod. 17,16,3); 1,11,7; 1,17,5; 2,3,8; 3,5,2; Curt. 3,12,27.

[13] Arr. 6,3,2. Tarn 351 n. 5, troubled by what he calls this unique libation to Ammon, casually expunges the name from the text ("merely one of those strange mistakes in our texts . . ."), but how the word intruded or what it replaces he prudently refrains from guessing.

[14] For other references to these gods see Arr. 5,3,6 and 7,11,8. In neither case are the deities named, and on the strength of 6,3,2 we must admit that they included Ammon. On both occasions Alexander made formal sacrifices.

[15] Between the sacrifices at Tyre in 331 and the Acesines libations Arrian only mentions in passing sacrifices to Apollo (3,27,5) and to the Dioscuri (4,8,1–2). There are frequent references to customary sacrifices (3,25,1; 3,28,4; 4,4,1; 5,29,2), but in no case are the deities named. This contrasts strikingly with the abundant details of the gods honoured by Alexander during the first years of his reign (see the list in Berve 1,85f.).

made two sets of sacrifices, one on the island of Cilluta some way inland, and the other on another island out at sea[16]. In both cases Alexander sacrificed to the gods whose worship he claimed had been sanctioned by Ammon[17]. The sacrifices involved two different rituals and were offered to two different sets of gods, but it would be rash to infer that Zeus Ammon was not included in them[18]. It would be even rasher to argue from Arrian's silence that Ammon played no part in earlier unattested court ceremonies.

One earlier ceremony demands more attention. On his return from Siwah in spring 331 Alexander sacrificed to Zeus Basileus and accompanied the sacrifice with a military procession and gymnastic contests[19]. It is possible that this sacrifice to Zeus Basileus embraced both Ammon of Siwah and Amon-Re, Zeus Thebaios of the Greek immigrants in Egypt[20]. Wilcken contested this assumption on two grounds; the ceremony is conducted on specifically Greek lines and Zeus Basileus was a specifically Greek god[21]. Neither argument holds good. There are other instances where Alexander worshipped an indigenous god with Greek ceremonial. The sacrifice to Apis in late 332 had apparently been accompanied by Greek festivities[22], while at Tyre in both 332 and 331 the sacrifices to the city god Melqart were accompanied by exactly the same trappings of games and military processions[23]. Admittedly Alexander identified Melqart with his own ancestor Heracles[24], but in exactly the same way he identified Ammon with Zeus. It was only at Babylon, where

[16] Arr. 6,19,3–5.

[17] Arr. 6,19,4: θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσοις ἔφασκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος ἐξηγγελμένον ἦν θῦσαι αὐτῷ . . . καὶ ταύταις δὲ κατ' ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν ⟨ἔφασκε⟩ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Before he began his journey down the Acesines Alexander had sacrificed to the gods ὅσοι τε πάτριοι ἢ μαντευτοὶ αὐτῷ (Arr. *Ind.* 18,11). For an attempt to determine Ammon's part in establishing Alexander's religious ceremonial see V. Ehrenberg, *Festschrift für M. Winternitz*, 1933, 290–294 = *Polis und Imperium*, 1965, 451–455.

[18] Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, 290 (= 452) argues that Ammon was included among the "vaterlichen Götter" at the Acesines sacrifices.

[19] Arr. 3,5,2.

[20] So Ehrenberg, "Alexander und Ägypten", *Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 7, 1926, 39f. = *Polis u. Imp.*, 431f., accepted recently by Schachermeyr 253 and tentatively by Kraft 66.

[21] Wilcken 596f., followed by Tarn 350 n. 2.

[22] Arr. 3,1,2.

[23] Arr. 2,24,6; 3,6,1. Cf. *AD* 26, 1971, 120.

[24] For Alexander's identification of Melqart with his ancestor Heracles see Curt. 4,2,2–3 with Arr. 2,15,7; Diod. 17,40,2; Iust. 11,10,10. See also Ehrenberg, *op. cit.* (see n. 20), 14 (= 407).

the city god, Bel-Marduk, *was* regarded as an alien deity, that Alexander consulted the local priesthood on religious protocol[25]. As for the cult of Zeus Basileus, it was certainly in vogue in the Greek world, celebrated at Lebadea in Boeotia and on the Ionian coast[26]. But Zeus Basileus reappears in Arrian and in a non-Greek context. This is the story of the origins of the Gordian knot, where Zeus Basileus twice figures as the patron deity of Gordius and Midas of Phrygia[27]. Here Zeus Basileus must represent the head of the Phrygian pantheon, the god later worshipped as Zeus Sabazios[28]. The chief Phrygian deity seems like Ammon to have been assimilated to the Hellenic Zeus. Indeed it is quite possible that the term Zeus Basileus was originally coined by Callisthenes or another of the first generation Alexander historians as an ecumenical term for foreign manifestations of Zeus[29]. At any rate the Memphis sacrifice could easily have been directed towards Amon-Re, the Theban Zeus and progenitor of Ammon of Siwah.

If the evidence attesting close ties between Alexander and Ammon ended with the libations and sacrifices on the Indus, one might be justified in scepticism about theories which presuppose especial veneration on Alexander's part. But the evidence continues, and it is important. After the death of Hephaestion in 324 Alexander instituted a cult for his dead friend. The sources are contradictory, varying about whether divine honours were paid to Hephaestion as a god or as a hero[30]. It is fortunately

[25] Arr. 3,16,4; cf. 7,17,4.

[26] *IG* 7, 3037 etc. (Lebadea); cf. *SEG* 2, 861 (a dedication to "Zeus Basileus and the other πάτριοι θεοί" by Boeotians resident in Egyptian Xois: 165 B. C.). For the cult in Ionia see *SIG*[3] 1014, 110; *IG* 12,5,134; *Inscr. Délos* 2553. In the late fifth century Xenophon had sacrificed to Zeus Basileus on instructions from Delphi (Xen. *Anab.* 6,1,22–24).

[27] Arr. 2, 3, 4 and 6.

[28] For the Phrygian god Sabazius see *RE* 1, 1543f. and Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* 1[2], 566f.; 2, 630ff. Sabazius had early been identified with Zeus, and by the mid-second century the worship of the syncretistic Zeus Sabazius was widespread in Asia Minor. Attalus III gave his official blessing to the cult in Pergamum and Cyzicus (Welles, *Royal Corr.*, nrs. 66,8; 67,5).

[29] In the same way the cult title Zeus Hypsistos, though originally Macedonian, appears to have been used as an all-purpose nomenclature for local deities throughout Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. According to Nock "Hypsistos was a term in use, vague enough to suit any god treated as the supreme being". Exactly the same could be said of Basileus; cf. A. D. Nock, *HThR* 29, 1936, 59–67 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 1972, 420–426.

[30] Arr. 7,23,6; Plut. *Al.* 72,3 (hero); Lucian 15 *Calumn. non temere cred.* 17; Diod. 17,115,6; Iust. 12,12,12 (god). On all this see E. Bickerman, *Athenaeum* 41, 1963, 77–79, who opts for a hero cult but adds significantly, "l'universalité de sa vénération le rapprochait des dieux"; cf. also Hamilton 200f.

agreed that, whatever the worship finally established for Hephaestion, it was formally confirmed by an oracle from Ammon at Siwah[31]. Just as Ammon had previously given oracular approval of Alexander's ceremonial sacrifices, he now sanctioned the worship of Alexander's closest friend. Twenty years later, when the Rhodians were showering honours on Ptolemy in gratitude for raising the siege by Demetrius, they sent formal representations to the sanctuary of Ammon, asking for confirmation of the worship of the Lagid as god[32]. Clearly they were following the precedent established at the apotheosis of Hephaestion. The oracle remained close to Alexander's heart. When he received the wave of embassies which overtook him during his final stay at Babylon, Alexander arranged them in order of priority. Those concerned with religion were placed on the first list, and second on that list came the delegates from Siwah. They were second only to the Eleans, the guardians of the most prestigious Hellenic shrine of Zeus, and even ranked above the Delphians[33]. The oracle of Ammon was at least the peer of the most famous Hellenic sanctuaries. Finally Alexander's deathbed wish was allegedly to be buried in the shrine of Ammon[34]. The issue is a contentious one, for it is notorious that possession of the king's body played a major part in the outbreak of hostilities between Perdiccas and Ptolemy in 321[35]. But the wish to be

[31] Arr. 7,14,7: a *logos* that Ammon refused sacrifices to Hephaestion as a god; 7,23,6; Ammon ratifies sacrifices to Hephaestion as a hero (so Plut. 72,3). According to Diodorus the oracle was brought unofficially by a certain Philippus, not by regular *theoroi*.

[32] Diod. 20,100,3. Ammon sanctions the worship of Ptolemy as a *god*, not a hero. Could the tradition that Hephaestion was given only heroic honours have originated with Ptolemy himself, to contrast implicitly the more impressive honour recently ratified for him by Ammon?

[33] On all this see Diod. 17,113,3–4. Tarn 377f. believed that the reference to the Ammonians is a late intrusion into the text of Diodorus. It is "obvious" that the first four names in the list represent the cities who conducted the Panhellenic festivals and Ἀμμωνιεῦσι has replaced Ἀργείοις in the original. This is nonsense. There is no hint in Diodorus that Panhellenic festivals are at issue, and, if that were the case, one would expect the Delphians to follow the Eleans in order of importance. In fact Diodorus states explicitly that the order was arranged according to the importance of the priests, and nobody will dispute that the shrine of Ammon had a superlative reputation, especially with Alexander. It is agreed by the sources (Arr. 7,15,4; Diod. 17,113,2; Iust. 12,13,1), and accepted even by Tarn, that the Libyans sent delegations to Babylon. Why should the Ammonians not have been represented?

[34] Diod. 18,3,5; Curt. 10,5,4; Iust. 12,15,7.

[35] On this issue see, most recently, E. Badian, *HSPh* 72, 1968, 185ff.; R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90, 1970, 64f.

buried in the Ammonium is attested by Diodorus in a context where he is almost certainly working from the contemporary Hieronymus of Cardia[36], and the balance of probability is definitely that Alexander wished as his las resting place not Aegae, the traditional burial ground of the Macedonian kings, but Siwah, the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon.

Ammon undoubtedly played a large part in the religious life of Alexander and his court, but what evidence is there that the king represented himself as son of the desert god or, in a wider sense, as son of Zeus? Wilcken found one example in what he called the credible tradition[37]. This is the famous story of Callisthenes, cited by Plutarch, that before the battle of Gaugamela Alexander made a long speech to the Thessalians, ending with a prayer: ἐπευχόμενος, εἴπερ ὄντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονώς, ἀμῦναι καὶ συνεπιρρῶσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας[38].

This anecdote, in particular the precise interpretation of the prayer, has caused controversy and needs discussion. The whole passage has been sweepingly attacked by Tarn, who condemned the entire context of Plutarch as a farrago of nonsense; Callisthenes' version of the prayer was then indicted by its bad company as a pitiful untruth[39]. The gravamen of Tarn's attack is faulty chronology. In the passage immediately preceding Plutarch describes Parmenion's appeal for help in the thick of the fighting, which the king rejects. Then paradoxically Alexander proceeds to arm himself and harangue his troops as though the battle had not yet begun. But the chapter is not constructed as a strict chronological sequence. Plutarch begins with the story of Alexander's calm sleep on the morning of the battle[40]. Typically he illustrates this trait of Alexander's character with another incident, explicitly stated to be later in the day, namely the cool reception of Parmenion's appeal for help[41]. Having inserted his proleptic reference to the future engagement, Plutarch reverts to

[36] See Badian, *op. cit.*, who argues convincingly against the doubts of Tarn and Schachermeyr, both of them following the earlier discussion of R. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit*, 1914, 180ff.

[37] Wilcken 600f. Kraft 60 rightly protests against this compartmentalising of sources into "good" and "bad".

[38] Plut. 33,1 = *FGrHist* 124 F 36.

[39] Tarn 352f. This cavalier dismissal of Callisthenes has been criticised on general grounds by Hampl, *Studies . . . D. M. Robinson* 2, 822 n. 7. Hamilton 83 rightly stresses Tarn's misunderstanding of the structure of the passage, but his own analysis is not entirely acceptable.

[40] Plut. 32,1–3.

[41] Plut. 32,4–7.

the prelude of the battle with Alexander arming himself and passing on to address the troops. The transitional phrase is admittedly awkward. Alexander gives his message and replaces his helmet; the rest of his armour, says Plutarch, he had on when he left the tent[42]. There follows an elaborate description of the armour and the preliminaries to the actual fighting. It is an awkward step backwards, but the link is Plutarch's own, and it cannot be attributed to Callisthenes. The prayer then belongs without cavil to the opening of the day's activities before battle was joined. It cannot be associated with the message to Parmenion, which is merely an anticipatory anecdote affording a parallel for Alexander's confidence at the start of the day. There is nothing incongruous in the context of the anecdote, only a piece of bad surgery by Plutarch, which can hardly be laid at Callisthenes' door.

Two aspects of this purported prayer of Alexander are vital for its interpretation. The first is the ambiguity of its phrasing. Διόθεν γεγονώς might imply the direct fatherhood of Zeus, or a more indirect relationship might be intended, Alexander appealing to Zeus as the originator of his Heraclid lineage[43]. The matter cannot be settled linguistically. Kraft for instance thought that the expression implied a more distant relationship than, say, ἐκ Διὸς γεγονώς, but significantly he gives no parallels. No parallel can in fact be adduced. Not only is the use of the form *Diothen* unique in prose exept for an instance in Lucian's archaising essay on the Syrian goddess[44], but, even worse, the attested usages of *Diothen* in Greek verse have the sense "coming from Zeus" or "by the will of Zeus", and the great majority of its usages are to describe things like winds or breezes which are literally sent from Zeus[45]. I can find only one remote parallel to Callisthenes in a Theban epitaph of the third century A. D., in which the pertinent phrase seems used as a clumsy periphrasis for "all womankind"[46]. What we can be sure of is that Alexander did *not* ask for the especial favour of the gods on the mere ground of his membership of the human race. The formula remains annoyingly

[42] Plut. 32,8.

[43] Wilcken took the passage to imply divine sonship, as did Hampl, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 822. Tarn 353 n. 1 suggested that the Greek might mean "Zeus-descended"; so Kraft 61, and, more tentatively, Hamilton 87.

[44] Lucian 44 *Dea Syr.* 12. Here the word has its normal sense "sent from the god".

[45] For a list of instances see LSJ. Neither this article nor that in Stephanus' lexicon adduces the Plutarch passage.

[46] Ὅσσαις Διόθεν γένος ἐστι, *IG* 7, 2539.

ambiguous. All we can say is that Callisthenes emphasised the salutation as son of Zeus of Siwah, and according to him the oracle of Branchidae gave intimations περὶ τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως, which does imply the direct fatherhood of Zeus[47]. He might have represented Alexander at Gaugamela offering a prayer as son of Zeus, but as yet there is no proof.

But the second aspect of the prayer is more illuminating. It has been held that the phraseology of the prayer is curiously diffident[48]. Alexander asks for assistance if he really is Διοθεν γεγόνώς. Does the qualification imply that Alexander had doubts about his divine filiation? Now the context of the prayer is interesting. It is embedded in a very decorative passage describing Alexander arming himself before battle. The whole passage has a strongly Homeric flavour, reminiscent of such great set pieces as the arming of Patroclus. As in Homer there are conventional formulaic descriptions of armour and weapons, with detailed statements about the history of each piece[49]. The prayer follows on from the arming, and like the arming it has clear epic parallels. The suppliant presents his prayer in conditional form, the protasis giving the grounds on which he thinks himself justified in asking for aid[50]. One need go no further than Polyphemus' prayer for vengeance on Odysseus[51]. Polyphemus has no doubts that Poseidon is his father; he merely uses a stylised form of supplication. Callisthenes' context then seems strongly Homeric. He presents Alexander arming like a hero for his *aristeia* and then praying to a divine father for assistance. The man who helped produce a recension of the Homeric poems for Alexander[52] would naturally portray the king as a second Achilles, acting in the same heroic mould and with the same direct

[47] Strabo 17, C. 813f. = *FGrHist* 124 F 14a. See the discussion at 71.

[48] E. g. Kraft 61: "Ein Alexander, der fest davon überzeugt ist, der Sohn des Zeus zu sein, könnte doch kaum beten . . .". See now E. Badian, *Gnomon* 47, 1975, 52.

[49] Plut. 32,9: τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἔστιλβε δὲ ὥσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοπφίλου· συνήρμοστο δὲ αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδηροῦν, λιθοκόλλητον. The effect of this is almost Homer turned into prose. The passage goes on to describe the sword as the gift of Pumathion of Citium and adds that the belt was the work of Helicon, a gift of the Rhodians. For the Homeric model see Π 30–55.

[50] The poetic form of the prayer was observed in passing by W. B. Kaiser, *JDAI* 76, 1962, 237 n. 51, who adduced Soph. *O. R.* 164ff. as a parallel. The Homeric passages are more illuminating.

[51] Κλῦθι, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα· / εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεαι εἶναι, / δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι (ι 529–531; cf. Ε 105 etc.). The form is identical; ἐτεόν in Homer corresponds exactly to ὄντως in Callisthenes/Plutarch.

[52] Strabo 13, C. 594 = *FGrHist* 124 T 10; cf. Plut. 26,1–2.

relationship to the gods. Given the strongly Homeric flavour of Macedonian court life in the fourth century and Alexander's own lifelong passion for Homer it was a logical enough presentation. Not only Callisthenes, it may be added, portrayed Alexander as the incarnation of Homeric valour. We find exactly the same trait in the allegedly staid and sober Ptolemy[53]. Whether Alexander did or did not make a prayer at Gaugamela is not of importance. The relevant point is that Alexander must have approved Callisthenes' portrayal[54]. The presentation of Alexander to the Hellenic world is presumably the presentation the king himself wished, namely the role of epic hero with direct links of paternity with Zeus.

From Callisthenes we move to more troubled waters, the so-called unreliable tradition. The source who has most to say about Alexander representing himself as son of Zeus Ammon is Curtius Rufus. After his elaborate account of the consultation of the oracle at Siwah by Alexander Curtius mentions a request by the king's entourage *an auctor esset divinis honoribus colendi suum regem.* The oracle gives the wished-for approval, and Alexander not only tolerates the title of *Iovis filius* but demands to be so called[55]. Not surprisingly the passage has been dismissed as fictitious, of a piece with the altercation between Alexander and the oracle over the punishment of the murderers of Philip[56]. Certainly there is no corroboration of Curtius' statement except by the notoriously unreliable Justin[57]. But once again the silence is far from conclusive. Diodorus follows a source common to Curtius and gives the same account of Alexander's consultation of the oracle and the rewards conferred on the priests[58]. At the point where Curtius places the query by Alexander's entourage Diodorus breaks off and goes on to the foundation of Alexandria. His source may have omitted the consultation, but it is equally possible that Diodorus himself lost interest at that juncture and moved to the next topic. The other sources are very scrappy. Plutarch merely talks about Alexander's questions to the oracle, while Arrian disposes of the

[53] Cf. Arr. 4,24,4 = *FGrHist* 138 F 18; Arr. 6,9,5 with X 302–304. These passages are acutely adduced by Strasburger, *Gnomon* 23, 1951, 83ff.

[54] So Hampl, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 822 n. 7; P. A. Brunt, *G&R* 12, 1965, 210; Hamilton 87.

[55] Curt. 4,7,28–30.

[56] Wilcken 598; the passage is said to be a "blanke Erfindung" of the tradition hostile to Alexander. So Tarn 350 n. 5.

[57] Iust. 11,11,11: *comitibus quoque suis responsum ut Alexandrum pro deo non pro rege colunt.*

[58] Diod. 17,50,6–51,4 = Curt. 4,7,23–28.

consultation in two lines – Alexander consulted the oracle, received answers to his liking, and returned to Egypt[59]. This then is not a very impressive silence. What is more, the questions of Alexander's entourage were of a type different from those of Alexander himself. It is clear from Callisthenes that the king had privileged treatment from the authorities at Siwah. He was admitted into the Holy of Holies and consulted the oracle in complete privacy. His friends on the other hand were forced to stay outside and consult the oracle in the outer court[60]. Any questions they asked were necessarily public and there was an audience to hear the answers. Whereas there was free field for speculation and invention in dealing with Alexander's questions, which were private and which he never divulged, any question by his friends was a matter of record and would have been remembered by contemporaries. There was much less scope for fabrication.

The topic of Alexander's divine filiation recurs quite often in Curtius, nearly always in forensic speeches, and in every case it serves as a focal point for the criticisms of the Macedonian opposition. During his trial Philotas is accused by Alexander of having been cool towards his proclamation as son of Zeus. Philotas replies that in his opinion Alexander should not have flaunted publicly his recognition by the oracle. Later under torture he claims that the king's demand to be saluted son of Zeus aroused opposition from the Macedonians right from the beginning[61]. These references have been condemned as deriving from forged and tendentious speeches, and certainly their context is clouded by rhetoric. But Curtius' speeches have never been critically examined, and it is impossible to tell how completely they are his own composition. It is certain, however, that they contain valid historical facts among the rhetoric. In particular, in the course of the exchange between Alexander and Philotas Curtius inserts details which have never been queried about Philotas' friendship with the late prince Amyntas and his marriage alliance with

[59] Plut. 27,5–7; Arr. 3,4,5. The absence in Arrian, and presumably in his sources, of any details about the consultation is most striking. His account of the visit to Ammon is little more than a catalogue of curiosities.

[60] Strabo 17, C. 814 = *FGrHist* 124 F 14. For the interpretation Wilcken's discussion (165–167) seems conclusive. Interestingly enough, he adduces the Curtius passage as corroboration, although he dismisses the actual question of the friends as senseless invention.

[61] Curt. 6,9,18; 6,10,26–28: *dignior mihi Alexander videbatur qui Iovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret quam qui praedicatione iactaret.* Cf. also 6,11,5–7 and 23.

Attalus[62]. The salutation as son of Zeus may fall into the same category. Curtius without a doubt regards it as one of the main causes of Macedonian discontent. The theme recurs in the parallel debate between Hermolaus and Alexander on the occasion of the Pages' conspiracy[63], and Curtius adduces it (wrongly) as the reason for Alexander's attempt to introduce *proskynesis* – *Iovis filium non dici tantum sed etiam credi volebat*[64]. So far though the motif has been unique to Curtius, and it may be that he has swallowed uncritically a piece of late fabrication. Is there corroboration from other sources?

The prime test case is the incident of the murder of Cleitus. According to Curtius the contretemps began with Cleitus' drunken reaction to denigration of Philip and his achievements. Cleitus first defended Philip's veterans, then criticised Alexander himself, *et ad ultimum Iovis quem patrem sibi Alexander adsereret oraculum eludens veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat*[65]. Alexander then lost control and committed the murder. For Curtius the climactic moment of the quarrel came with a slighting reference to Zeus Ammon and Alexander's claims to divine filiation. Similarly in Plutarch's version Cleitus' speech builds up to a climax with the reproach that Alexander had disowned Philip and got himself adopted by Ammon[66]. The taunt provokes an angry outburst from Alexander but not the final catastrophe. At first sight Arrian seems to differ. At least there is nothing about Ammon in his account of Cleitus' speech, which works up to its climax with the boast that he had saved the king's life at the Granicus[67]. But Arrian gives a more extended account of the prelude to the tragedy. Whereas Plutarch and Curtius merely state that there was denigration of Philip's generals and eulogy of Alexander's own achievements[68], Arrian makes the conversation spring from the immediately

[62] Curt. 6,9,17; 6,10,23. Although these statements are uncorroborated, they are accepted by Berve without question (2, nrs. 61; 182; 802). Even Tarn admits that Curtius inserted into his speeches bits of fact more appropriate for a narrative (94).

[63] Curt. 8,7,13; 8,8,14.

[64] Curt. 8,5,5. Exactly the same motivation is found in Arr. 4,9,9, presented as a *logos*: ὑπούσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλόν τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης. There are further references to Alexander's divine filiation in Curt. 8,10,1 and 29.

[65] Curt. 8,1,42.

[66] Plut. 50,11: ἐγένου τηλικοῦτος ὥστε Ἄμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν ἀπειπάμενον τὸν Φίλιππον. For the interpretation of εἰσποιεῖν see Hamilton 142.

[67] Arr. 4,8,7. In Plut. 50,11 the reference to the Granicus immediately precedes the taunt against Ammon.

[68] Plut. 50,8–9; Curt. 8,1,22–23.

preceding sacrifice to the Dioscuri. As the drinking progressed, the conversation turned to Castor and Pollux[69]. The twins' birth was removed from Tyndareus and referred to Zeus; in other words Tyndareus was only their putative father. In some sense they were directly the sons of Zeus. Now Arrian's wording here recalls inescapably his famous statement of Alexander's motivation for the journey to Siwah[70]. There Alexander was compared to Perseus and Heracles; like them he referred part of his birth to Zeus Ammon. At Maracanda the court flatterers clearly compared Alexander's filiation with that of the Dioscuri and implicitly drew a parallel between Tyndareus and Philip. The comparison becomes explicit a few lines later when the flatterers claim that it is improper to compare Alexander and the Dioscuri. His virtues far outweigh theirs. According to Arrian, then, the introduction to the fatal quarrel was an indirect but unmistakable reference to Alexander's claim to be son of Ammon. There is no way of identifying Arrian's source. The whole Cleitus episode is presented in indirect speech as a *legomenon*, and his account is probably taken from one or more of his subsidiary sources[71], certainly not from Aristobulus, who refused to give any account of the drunken quarrel[72]. But the important thing is that the three principal accounts of the incident, though differing in detail and taken from different sources[73], agree in making the subject of Alexander's divine filiation a major element in the quarrel. It must have been a standard part of the tradition, and the consensus is welcome corroboration of Curtius' claim that Alexanders's pretensions as son of Zeus were a constant source of friction with the Macedonian nobility. It will not do to argue that the reference in Arrian to Alexander's divine sonship is attributed to court flatterers who do not necessarily reflect Alexander's own thinking[74]. Flattery, if it is to be success-

[69] Arr. 4,8,2–3.

[70] Arr. 3,3,2: καί τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς Ἄμμωνα ἀνέφερε. See my discussion of this passage at 69ff.

[71] Arr. 4,8,2. It is usually accepted that Ptolemy did not even mention the Cleitus episode (so Schwartz, *RE* 2, 1242; Strasburger 40). Pearson, however, thinks that Arrian's account is taken from Ptolemy, on the grounds that Aristobulus' silence alone is stressed by Arrian and no historian, he thinks, would have dared to omit the notorious incident of Cleitus' murder (*The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, 1960, 170 with n. 104; 191 with n. 20).

[72] Arr. 4,8,9 = *FGrHist* 139 F 29.

[73] For analyses of the source tradition see A. Aymard, *Etudes d'Histoire Ancienne*, 1967, 51ff.; T. S. Brown, *AJPh* 70, 1949, 236–238.

[74] So Tarn 57; 350; 358. Kraft 68 is more guarded, but he suggests that Alexander's attitude to the flattery was one of polite irony.

ful, concentrates on what is known to be a favourite subject with the flattered, just as abuse is most effective where its victim is most vulnerable. Clearly Cleitus' taunts centred on areas most sensitive with Alexander; otherwise the king's blind fury is hard to understand; even in his state of extreme intoxication.

The same applies to the taunts of the mutineers of Opis, who ended their pleas for discharge with an ironical appeal to Alexander to continue campaigning with his father Ammon[75]. In both Arrian and Justin the taunt is the climax of the grievances, and it leads immediately to Alexander's angry reaction[76]. Once more the abuse was aimed at a sensitive spot. If we can believe Diodorus, the mutinous troops had often ridiculed his supposed birth from Ammon[77], and at Opis the repetition of the taunt together with the army's general recalcitrance led to Alexander's drastic action against the ringleaders. Now Alexander begins his celebrated Opis speech with a review of the benefits conferred upon the Macedonians by his father Philip, and this has been taken as proof positive that he did not regard Ammon as his father or disown Philip[78]. The argument is unfortunately misdirected. Alexander's divine filiation was compared to that of the Dioscuri and Heracles[79], and in Greek mythology such "sons of Zeus" are represented as having a dual paternity. In Euripides Heracles believes that he was fathered by Zeus on Alcmena, but that does not prevent his greeting Amphitryon as his father[80]. In the same way Alexander may have thought of Zeus Ammon as his father in the deepest sense, but that did not exclude Philip from his role as earthly father. The

[75] Arr. 7,8,3.

[76] Arr. 7,8,3; Iust. 12,11,6; cf. Diod. 17,109,2. Kraft 64f. is sceptical about the effect of the taunts and suggests that they have been exaggerated by later tradition. He thinks that Alexander's anger against the mutineers was directed against things other than the gibe against Ammon. It is true that Arrian's ταῦτα ἀκούσας is not specific, but the context indicates that the gibes were the principal ingredient in arousing Alexander's anger. This is agreed by scholars as different in their viewpoints as Tarn (351) and Hampl, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 822.

[77] Diod. 17,108,3.

[78] Arr. 7,9,2–5. On this see Kraft 65, who argues like Wilcken that Alexander never disowned Philip, and he rejects Hampl's thesis that by 324 Ammon had replaced Philip as his father.

[79] Cf. Arr. 3,3,2; 4,8,2–3.

[80] Eurip. *Heracl.* 1258ff. In the same way Theseus in the *Hippolytus* acknowledges both Poseidon and Aegeus as his fathers (887 with W. S. Barrett's note *ad loc.*). Hesiod also, though well aware of Heracles' fathering by Zeus, still calls him Amphitryoniades (*Scut.* 165).

opening of his Opis speech might have been designed in part to show his Macedonian veterans that his claim to be son of Zeus Ammon did not imply any disrespect for his earthly father Philip[81]. It was a juncture at which it paid him to enumerate the services of Philip so that he could accuse his men of ingratitude. But even here he is at pains to stress that his own achievements eclipsed those of Philip[82]. In private, as at Maracanda, he might actually denigrate the old régime; and this depreciation of Philip, together with his claims to be son of Zeus, led naturally to counter-charges that he was disowning his own father.

Curtius implies that the salutation of Alexander as son of Ammon was a regular feature of court life, and there is at least one recorded instance of his being so addressed. According to Ephippus of Olynthus, Alexander was crowned with a golden crown at Ecbatana in 324, and the donor, Gorgus the *hoplophylax*, crowned him as son of Ammon[83]. Now Ephippus has had a bad press. His work on the deaths of Hephaestion and Alexander is only known from five citations in Athenaeus, and it was clearly hostile to Alexander's memory, stressing the king's debauched drinking habits and suggesting that his drinking caused his death[84]. Ephippus is therefore dismissed as a scurrilous pamphleteer and his detail written off as apocryphal[85]. But there seems a tacit assumption that be-

[81] I am here assuming that Ptolemy was the source of the material in the Opis speech (cf. Strasburger 47; Tarn 291ff.). For other views, that the speech is Arrian's own rhetorical composition, see Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen*, 1934, 81f.; F. R. Wüst, *Historia* 2, 1953/54, 177ff.

[82] Arr. 7,9,6: ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένα, ὡς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ' αὑτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὧς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν.

[83] Athen. 12,538A–B = *FGrHist* 126 F 5.

[84] See particularly *FGrHist* 126 F 3, where the death of Alexander is attributed to the wrath of Dionysos on account of the sack of Thebes. For the propaganda implications of this, see my observations in *CQ* 21, 1971, 114f.

[85] Cf. E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 35, 1900, 127; Berve 2, nr. 331; Jacoby *FGrHist* 2 B, Komm., p. 437f.; Tarn 354 n. 2. Pearson's treatment is symptomatic (*op. cit.* [n. 71], 64f.). Even though he lists the formidable corroborative evidence of Gorgus' activities at Ecbatana, he is still unwilling to admit the accuracy of Ephippus' account. For a refreshing protest see Badian, *Gnomon* 33, 1961, 662f. = *Studies in Greek and Roman History*, 1964, 253f. R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 54f., denies that the two pieces of evidence relate to the same incident. His reasons are contextual. Samos is not mentioned by Ephippus, who stresses the "notorious extravagance" of the crown, whereas the Samian decree mentions the crown only as a "minor additional benefit". I do not think so sharp a distinction can be made. It is not the extravagance of the crown that Ephippus emphasises (seeing that the Athenians honoured relatively minor benefactors with crowns of 1,000 drachmae, a gold crown of 3,000 drachmae was *not* a particularly extravagant gift to offer Alexander), so much as the massive promise of armaments for a siege of Athens.

cause Ephippus was hostile to Alexander his material must have been fictitious. Such an assumption is *a priori* and arbitrary to the last degree. In the case of the crowning by Gorgus we have independent corroboration in a Samian decree passed shortly after the restoration in 321[86]. In it Gorgus of Iasus is honoured for his efforts at Alexander's court on behalf of the Samian exiles. Nobody has ever doubted that this Gorgus was the *hoplophylax* mentioned by Ephippus. Furthermore the decree mentions that Gorgus did indeed crown Alexander at a time when Alexander announced in his camp that he was returning Samos to the Samians[87]. This would have taken place during the diplomatic negotiations at the time of the Exiles' Decree during the summer of 324, exactly the time of the stay at Ecbatana. What is more, Ephippus says that Gorgus accompanied the crowning with an extravagant offer of panoplies and catapults for a future siege of Athens, which fits in beautifully with the troubled situation of 324, when Athens' incalcitrance over Samos together with her reception of the fugitive Harpalus had driven Alexander almost to the point of war[88]. The context of the crowning in Ephippus is impeccable, and it cannot reasonably be denied that Alexander was proclaimed son of Ammon at the crowning.

We need go no further[89]. The discussion so far has shown that Alexander's veneration for Ammon was consistent, and it seems to have cul-

On the other hand the Samian decree does not play down the crowning of Alexander as a minor benefit. It is presented as a major achievement; Gorgus worked continuously at court for the Samian restoration and in particular he crowned Alexander in camp when he made the formal announcement. The decree also mentions that Gorgus' crown was one of many conferred on Alexander, which is precisely what Ephippus says. The major difference is that Ephippus has nothing explicit about the restoration of the Samians, which not surprisingly is the major preoccupation of the Samian decree. It may, however, have been one of the κηρύγματα ὑπερήφανα he says were issued at Ecbatana. The proclamation must have triggered off speculation about the Athenian reaction, and, whether or not there was any concrete news of Athenian disaffection, Gorgus may well have been carried away to make his extravagant offer of panoplies in the event of a siege.

[86] *SIG*³ 312. For Gorgus' diplomacy at court on behalf of his native Iasians see *SIG*³ 307 (Tod 2,190). Further epigraphical evidence is adduced by Pearson, *op. cit.* (n. 71), 65 n. 13.

[87] *SIG*³ 312, 12ff.

[88] Curt. 10,2,2; Iust. 13,5,1–8. Against Tarn's statement (354 n. 2) that no attack on Athens was planned, see *CQ* 21, 1971, 126f. Chr. Habicht, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 49f.

[89] There is additional anecdotal material in Plut. *Al.* 28. In particular Plutarch cites a letter of Alexander to the Athenians referring to Philip as τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένου. The authenticity is unfortunately still in doubt, despite the efforts of Hamilton to prove its genuineness (*CQ* 3, 1953, 151–157; against his views see Kraft 44–47). But, even if forged, the letter is the product of a man who believed that

minated in his death wish to be buried at Siwah. If we can trust Curtius, it became regular after the visit for Alexander to be called son of Ammon, and there is ample evidence that his pretensions to divine filiation provoked consistent and increasing resentment among the Macedonians.

The visit to Siwah is obviously the major crux in the problem of establishing the origins of Alexander's claims to divine filiation. Until the 1920s it was virtually *communis opinio* that the object of Alexander's visit was to win oracular recognition of his status as son of Zeus[90]. But in a series of major articles Wilcken vigorously contested this assumption and maintained that the real purpose of the visit was to consult the oracle about his future plans. The idea of divine sonship, Wilcken argued, originated at the time of the visit. The officiating priest greeted Alexander as son of Ammon, for as Pharaoh he was *ex officio* son of Amon-Re. This greeting struck the king like a bolt from the blue; he identified Ammon and Zeus, and gradually the conviction took shape in his mind that he was indeed the son of Zeus Ammon[91]. Subsequent discussions have mostly polarised between Wilcken's theory and the earlier orthodoxy[92]. There have been attempts to trace a more specific motive. Andreotti, for instance, thought that the visit was a mere offshoot of an expedition to subjugate Cyrene[93], whereas Bradford Welles held that Alexander's main purpose was to obtain a foundation oracle for his projected city of Alexandria[94]. Neither of these

Alexander acknowledged a father other than Philip. Kraft 44 has suggested that προσαγορευομένου is a neutral expression, which refers to an earlier petition of the Athenians, i. e. "Philip, who was explicitly apostrophised by you as my father". That is impossible. Even if the verb can have the sense posited by Kraft (and he gives no parallel), the tense is wrong and the language impossibly elliptic. "My so-called father" remains the most attractive interpretation.

[90] Wilcken 576f. lists earlier views. For a succinct statement of the older position see Berve 1,94–96.

[91] 586: "Die Begrüßung als Zeussohn ist bei Kallisthenes nur ein Akzedenz". The fullest and most unambiguous statement of Wilcken's position is in his *Alexander the Great* (ed. by E. N. Borza), 1967, 121–129.

[92] For Wilcken: Tarn 347ff.; Schachermeyr 243ff., though he thinks that the problem of divine filiation was first voiced immediately before the visit (247 n. 274); Balsdon, *Historia* 1, 1950, 377; Brunt, *G&R* 12, 1965, 210; Kraft 48–59. Against: Strasburger 29–33; E. Mederer, *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern*, 1936, 39ff.; A. Gitti, *Alessandro Magno all' oasi di Siwah*, 1951, 63ff., esp. 70; Hamilton 69f.

[93] R. Andreotti, *Il problema politico di Alessandro Magno*, 1933, 79–91. The view had been voiced before by D. G. Hogarth, *EHR* 2, 1887, 317ff., and it has been more recently revived by C. A. Robinson, Jr., *AHR* 62, 1957, 333f.

[94] C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11, 1962, 281f. See, however, the vigorous protest of P. M. Fraser, *OAth* 7, 1967, 23ff., esp. n. 27.

specific theories holds water, for the simple reason that, if Alexander's objectives had been so clear-cut, there was no earthly reason for the sources to have omitted them. If the object of the expedition was Cyrene, one would have expected the delegation of submission at Paraetonium to have figured as the centrepiece, not as a peripheral incident in the wider story of the Siwah visit[95]. Similarly, if Alexander did receive a foundation oracle for his new city, he is hardly likely to have hushed it up, so that the first source to breathe a word about any such oracle is the Alexander Romance of the third century A. D.[96]. Indeed there is no record in the Alexander sources of any foundation oracle for any of Alexander's cities, and, if the asking of divine sanction for a new foundation was as regular as Welles implies, it is amazing that there is no literary record until the late and unhistorical Romance. In any case neither theory excludes the possibility that desire for recognition as son of Zeus was a subsidiary motive for the visit, and both are irrelevant to the present problem.

The earliest source, Callisthenes, states that Alexander had great ambitions to visit the oracle, since he had heard that Perseus and Heracles had also done so[97]. We cannot tell how far Strabo has abbreviated the original, but it seems that Callisthenes linked the visit with the mythical ancestors of the Argead house. The claims of the Macedonian kings to be Heraclids, descended from Temenos of Argos, is well known[98], but this is the first connection of Perseus with the Argead line. No doubt Alexander was aware of the etymological myth which made Perseus the founder of the Persian nation[99], and in pursuance of his claims to be the legitimate ruler of Asia he may have adopted Perseus as an ancestor[100]. After all, standard genealogies made him the great-grandfather of Heracles, the traditional founder of the Macedonian royal line[101]. Callisthenes, then, represented

[95] Diod. 17,49,2; Curt. 4,7,9. Arrian does not even mention the incident.

[96] Ps.-Call. 1,30,5.

[97] Strabo 17, C. 814 = *FGrHist* 124 F 14.

[98] Cf. Plut. 3,1, with Hamilton's commentary *ad loc.* Alexander's consciousness of his Heraclid lineage is a recurring feature of the history of his reign; cf. Arr. 2,5,9; Curt. 4,2,2; cf.also Arr. 4,11,6; 6,3,2.

[99] Hdt. 6,54; 7,61,3; 7,150. For the role of Hellanicus in expanding the myth see K. von Fritz, *Griech. Geschichtsschreibung*, Band 1, Text, 488f. In later years both Philip V and Perseus were to stress their relationship to the Argive hero; cf. Chr. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220–160 v. Chr.*, 1972, 118–121; R. Lane Fox, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 201.

[100] In his letter of 332 to Darius III Alexander consistently portrays the Persian king as an usurper with no legitimate claim to the throne; Arr. 2,14,5 and 7; Curt. 4,1,10.

[101] *SIG*^{3} 161 (the Argive dedication at Delphi); Pausan. 2,16,1 etc.

Alexander following in the footsteps of his mythical ancestors, the first and earliest example of that passionate emulation which was to drive him to emulate Heracles' siege of Aornos and finally impelled him into the Gedrosian desert in the wake of Semiramis and Cyrus[102].

Callisthenes' motivation is repeated by Arrian, who says that Alexander visited the oracle "firstly to consult the god, because it was said that the oracle of Ammon was reliable and that Perseus and Heracles had consulted it . . .; there was also rivalry between Alexander and the heroes, Perseus and Heracles, for he was related by family to them both, and he too ascribed some part of his own birth to Ammon, just as myths ascribed the births of Heracles and Perseus to Zeus"[103]. This is a vexed passage. In particular, the statement that Alexander believed himself son of Zeus was so embarrassing to Wilcken that he dismissed it as an insertion from Cleitarchus[104]. More recently Kraft has argued that the passage falls into two halves, the second paragraph repeating the subject matter of the first with the "polemic" addition of Alexander's ascription of his own origins to Ammon[105]. This argument ignores the . . . μέν . . . δέ . . . antithesis. Arrian is presenting two different and contrasted considerations. Two motives are given: (1) desire to consult the oracle because of its reliability, a reliability proved by the consultations of Perseus and Heracles, and (2) emulation of Perseus and Heracles because of Alexander's descent from them and because of his ascription of his birth to Zeus Ammon. The passage is quite homogeneous, and I can see no evidence of a doublet. What is more, such dovetailing of divergent sources as is posited is quite contrary to the methodological rules Arrian enunciates in the preface. He says that he will only use material from sources other than Ptolemy and Aristobulus as *legomena*, and then only if they are memorable[106]. In our passage there is no telltale λέγεται. It is a coherent entity and in direct speech, and it must be taken from one of Arrian's two major sources. Whether Ptolemy or Aristobulus it is impossible to say. Attempts to exclude either source rest on *a priori* considerations of the character of the

[102] Arr. 4,28,1; 6,24,2–3 = Nearchus *FGrHist* 133 F 3.

[103] Arr. 3,3,1–2. (The text would deserve to be quoted *in extenso*.)

[104] Wilcken 588–590; *SPAW* 1938, 298ff.; Strasburger's refutation (29f.) is generally accepted (cf. Hamilton 69).

[105] Kraft 57; he is, however, prepared to ascribe the whole passage to Ptolemy.

[106] Arr. *Anab. praef.* 3. For a good illustration of Arrian's method at work see the discussion of Alexander's interview of the captured queens at 2,13,3–8.

respective author and his work[107]. Not enough survives of Aristobulus' treatment of Alexander for us to be able to say that he could not have cast doubt on Alexander's official statements by the addition of the ironical ἤ φήσων γε ἐγνωκέναι with its implications of chicanery. Admittedly Aristobulus' work was both panegyrical and apologetic, but he was quite able on occasion to question an official policy statement[108]. Nor can it be said that the passage places the king in an especially unfavourable light. Partisan interpretations of oracles had a very long history, and the golden lie in the subjects' interests had the approval of Plato himself. But it is certain that the motivation given by Arrian comes from a single source, and, whether that source was Ptolemy or Aristobulus, the information derives from an eyewitness of the campaign.

There remain problems of interpretation. The passage, as has been observed, adduces two reasons for the visit to Siwah, the mythologically attested reliability of the oracle and Alexander's own emulation. Again two reasons are given to explain the emulation. Perseus and Heracles were his ancestors, and, just as he referred his *genesis* to Ammon, so they referred theirs to Zeus. The second reason is of course the controversial one. It has been held that Alexander was referring to his lineage as a Heraclid, attributing his origins indirectly to Zeus, while his ancestors were more directly related[109]. That is impossible. Arrian gives two reasons, explicitly marked off by the . . . μέν . . . δέ . . . construction. The καί τι καί must introduce a new consideration, not an amplification of what precedes. There are also linguistic parallels in Arrian which prove convincingly that *genesis* here means explicitly "birth", not the more ambiguous "origins"[110]. Alexander referred part of his birth to Ammon, and the terminology excludes any allusion to his Heraclid

[107] Strasburger 29–33 has argued for Ptolemaic authorship and has been generally followed. Pearson, however, has tried to re-establish the old orthodoxy that Arrian's source was Aristobulus (*op. cit.* [n. 71], 167 n. 62).

[108] Arr. 7,19,6; Strabo 16, C. 741 = *FGrHist* 139 F 55–56. Here Aristobulus mentions the *prophasis* of Alexander's projected Arabian campaign and adds that in his view the truth was that the king was insatiable of conquest. On the encomiastic nature of Aristobulus' work see Schwartz, *RE* 2, 914–918; Strasburger 13–16; Pearson, *op. cit.* (n. 71), 155–159.

[109] So Tarn 353f.; Kraft 55. It is, however, worth noting that the manuscript reading at Arr. 3,3,2 is τῆς Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως; if the reading stands, Alexander's *genesis* is exactly parallel to that of Perseus and Heracles. The text admittedly is more elegant with Krüger's emendation τήν, but there seems nothing syntactically impossible in the manuscript reading.

[110] Arr. 4,8,2: ἐς Δία ἀνηνέχθη ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῖν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα Τυνδάρεω. Cf. 4,10,2; 7,29,3. At Plut. 3,3 *genesis* and *teknosis* are apparently synonymous.

lineage. The partitive genitive still needs to be explained. According to Arrian Alexander referred *part* of his birth (τι τῆς γενέσεως) to Ammon, but there is no such qualification in the case of Perseus and Heracles. If the wording is to be pressed, Arrian is referring to dual paternity. Alexander had two fathers, Philip and Ammon, and no doubt Alexander referred his birth to both, exactly as the mythical Heracles recognised both Zeus and Amphitryon as his fathers. But Perseus was different. In mythology he had no father but Zeus, for Danae was impregnated by the shower of gold while still unmarried. That is perhaps sufficient explanation of the absence of qualification in the attribution of the births of Perseus and Heracles (although Heracles is wrongly classed with the singly fathered Perseus)[111]. But it is unwise to press too hard such minor differences in phrasing, especially when the writer is as prone as Arrian is to *variatio*. What matters is that he represents Alexander's relationship to Zeus Ammon as parallel to that of Heracles and Perseus. In that case, even before the visit to Siwah Alexander regarded himself as in some sense the son of Zeus.

The emulation of heroic forerunners was first presented by Callisthenes, and it is usually accepted that Arrian's account is at least based on Callisthenes with possible elaborations by Ptolemy or Aristobulus. Wilcken, however, argued that Callisthenes only mentioned Alexander's Heraclid lineage and that the divine filiation is later unreliable accretion[112]. But Strabo's résumé of the lost original is very compressed[113]. There is nothing about divine filiation, but there is equally nothing explicit about Alexander's Heraclid extraction. We cannot legitimately accept one of the motives in Arrian as original Callisthenes and reject the other as late fantasy. Strabo's language is too non-committal. But it is clear that Callisthenes made much of the priest's salutation as son of Zeus[114]. Strabo, who is out to emphasise the "flattery" of the narrative, makes it the climax of his narrative of the visit, and he continues with the oracles from Asia Minor which stressed Alexander's divine birth. Strabo regarded the chief sin of Callisthenes' narrative as the oracular recognition of divine sonship,

[111] At 4,8,2 Arrian similarly lumps together the two Dioscuri, although only one of them was sired by Zeus (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 10,80ff.). He was apparently not overmuch troubled by the nicer distinctions of mythology.

[112] 581–583; 588–590.

[113] Strabo 17, C. 814 = *FGrHist* 124 F 14.

[114] There are difficulties of interpretation, but it is clear that the salutation was separated from the discussion of the consultation of the oracle. The priest "said outright" that the king was son of Zeus.

and there is, I think, a high probability that Callisthenes did indeed adduce Alexander's pretensions to be son of Zeus as a reason for his emulation of Heracles and Perseus.

Not only Arrian dates Alexander's belief in divine filiation before the visit to Siwah. According to Curtius Rufus, *ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem haud contentus mortali fastigio aut credebat esse aut credi volebat*[115]. This passage has been almost universally thought to be a summary of the same source used by Arrian and so not independent evidence[116]. I disagree. The two points of similarity are not compelling. Curtius' *ingens cupido* does indeed correspond to Arrian's *pothos*, but both expressions are routine formulae, and any source might have stressed that Alexander had a great desire to visit Siwah[117]. Such a trivial coincidence is no evidence of a common source. Secondly Curtius' cynical final words *(aut credi volebat)* are said to correspond to Arrian's famous ἢ φήσων γε ἐγνωκέναι. But Arrian's irony comes in the context of the consultation; Alexander went to Siwah for more reliable knowledge about his own affairs, or at least to say that he had received such knowledge. In Curtius it is the belief in divine sonship that is queried, a different matter altogether. This is the scepticism about Alexander's divine pretensions which was almost routine among writers of the imperial period. We find similar sentiments, that the claim to be son of Zeus was a trick for the masses, in Arrian himself, as well as in Plutarch, Dio of Prusa and Lucian[118]. Like the scornful *haud contentus mortali fastigio* it might be an aside by Curtius himself. The context surrounding this passage of Curtius deals with the invasion of Egypt, and the difference between it and Arrian's account of the same events are sufficient to preclude any possibility of a common source[119]. Curtius is in-

[115] Curt. 4,7,8.

[116] The alleged similarity in wording was the principal reason for Wilcken's attribution of Arr. 3,3,2 to Cleitarchus (588). Strasburger 32 argues that both authors drew on Ptolemy.

[117] Cf. H. Montgomery, *Gedanke und Tat*, 1965, 208ff.; Kraft 92–94. The arguments there adduced demolish Ehrenberg's theory that the *pothos* formula was coined by Alexander himself.

[118] Arr. 7,29,3; cf. Plut. 28,6; Dio Chrys. 4,18–19; Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 12,1.

[119] In particular (i) Curtius divides Alexander's invasion force into two and makes the king advance on Memphis by boat; in Arrian there is a triple division and Alexander goes by land (Curt. 4,7,3–4; Arr. 3,1,3). (ii) In Arrian the satrap Mazaces surrenders significantly earlier than in Curtius (Curt. 4,7,3–4; Arr. 3,1,2). (iii) Curt. 4,7,5 mentions a journey up the Nile from Memphis, which is totally lacking in Arrian.

dependent of Arrian and affords corroboration that even before the Siwah visit Alexander believed himself son of Zeus.

For confirmation we must turn to the oracles brought to Memphis from Asia Minor. According to Callisthenes the oracle at Branchidae had resumed operations for the first time since the sack of the sanctuary by Xerxes. Many oracles were disgorged and conveyed by ambassadors to Memphis. They related to Alexander's birth from Zeus, to the future victory of Gaugamela, the death of Darius and revolution in Sparta[120]. For Tarn the whole incident is fiction from beginning to end. His reason seems to be that the references to Gaugamela and Agis' revolt are such patently transparent *post eventum* fabrications that the whole context is contaminated and we can believe nothing[121]. But we should remember that Callisthenes was writing for contemporaries who could easily refute blatant inventions. It would have taken a simple declaration by the Milesians that they had in fact sent no embassy to make a laughing-stock of Callisthenes; presumably he was competent enough to avoid such an obvious danger. We can be sure that the Milesians did send oracles to Memphis. It would not have required an especially astute priesthood to concoct presages of victory in battle over the Persians and of the fall of the Persian king. Spartan unrest was well enough known by 332/31 to justify a warning prophecy of dangers in Greece. Presumably any such oracles would have been worded with careful vagueness[122], so that Callisthenes some eighteen months later could relate them to actual occurrences. But the main burden of the Milesian oracles falls into a different category, referring not to future events but to Alexander's present status. First in Strabo's excerpt is recognition of Alexander's birth from Zeus (τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως obviously means more than Alexander's Heraclid lineage; it did not need an oracle to confirm that!). Similarly the prophetess Athenais of Erythrae made pronouncements about Alexander's *eugeneia*, which can hardly mean anything other than divine birth. Both these oracles Callisthenes connects with Alexander's visit to Siwah, and the themesong of their responses is recognition of Alexander as son of Zeus. It is usually held that Alexander broadcast his favourable reception at Siwah in such glowing terms that the other principal shrines followed

[120] Strabo 17, C. 813–814 = *FGrHist* 124 F 14.

[121] Tarn 357f.; cf. 257: "Callisthenes must have made up the prophecy himself after Darius' death."

[122] This is suggested by Brunt, *G&R* 12, 1965, 210.

suit out of professional jealousy[123]. Unfortunately there are chronological difficulties. Alexander entered Egypt towards the end of November, and according to Arrian he left the Satrapy at the beginning of spring[124]. The exact date of departure is impossible to specify, but it can hardly be later than April[125]. On the conventional chronology Alexander was travelling to and from Siwah in the months of January and February, 331 B. C. There would have been at most two months for Alexander to have broadcast the gospel of his reception at Siwah and the confirmatory oracles to have reached Memphis[126]. Alexander's emissaries would also have been forced to brave the winter seas against the prevailing winds. Navigation out of Egypt could be time consuming at the best of seasons, and in winter the cessation of sailing was virtually complete[127]. Alexander might have sent off messengers in midwinter, but, had he done so, it seems impossible that the Milesians could have responded with their embassy in time to catch Alexander still in Egypt. If, as seems undeniable, the Milesians were reacting to news of the visit to Siwah, they must have had advance information, and the most probable time for that information to have arri-

[123] So Wilcken 599; Schachermeyr 254.

[124] Arr. 3,6,1. For the chronology of the Egyptian expedition see Beloch 3^2,2,314f.

[125] This is adduced from the fact that during the Empire the birthday of Alexandria was celebrated on 25 Tybi by the Egyptian calendar (Ps.-Call. 1,32,6). In 331 this date fell on April 7, which Welles took as the actual date of the foundation of Alexandria (*Historia* 11, 1962, 284 with n. 67). But after the Augustan calendar reform 25 Tybi fell permanently on January 20. It might be that the city's birthday was celebrated on 25 Tybi every year down to Roman times, even though the celebration gradually diverged by about a month a century from the actual time of foundation by the solar year. Alternatively it could be argued that the Alexandrians adjusted the Egyptian date of the celebrations to keep in tune with the solar year. Originally they might not even have used the native calendar. Wilcken at least opted without argument for the January date (579 n. 3). See also P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1972, 2, 3 n. 9.

[126] According to Schachermeyr 248 n. 276, the news of Alexander's impending visit was broadcast while Alexander was still in the Delta, and he allows a two-month stay at the oasis (no source hints at so long a visit). Even so the interval between the despatch of the news and the reception of the Milesian oracle is uncomfortably short. (This point has been taken by Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*^{2}, 23 n. 26.)

[127] For details of communications with Egypt see M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire*, 1924, 23; 247. In the Empire Claudius was forced to pay special premiums to induce businessmen to risk the hazards of winter sailing (Suet. *Claud.* 19,2). Even in the sailing season navigation from Egypt was a slow and sometimes dangerous undertaking, as Lucian vividly describes in his treatise on the voyage of the Isis (Lucian 73 *Navig.* 7–10; cf. L. Casson, *TAPhA* 81, 1950, 43ff.). Winter sailing was best avoided, and the emperor Vespasian prudently delayed his voyage from Alexandria until the end of winter A. D. 70 (Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 4,658).

ved was the summer or autumn of 332. At that time Egypt figured prominently in Alexander's plans. It appears as the terminus for annexation in the Levant in Arrian's version of the speech before Tyre[128], and it is repeatedly stated that the operations at Tyre and Gaza were an interruption of his progress to Egypt[129]. It is very probable that Alexander had long discussed visiting the oracle of Zeus Ammon and that the priority given to the Lybian shrine piqued the pride of the oracular centres of Asia Minor. The Milesians responded with promises of future success, but also, most importantly, they affirmed that Alexander was son of Zeus. They must have had a shrewd idea what prophecies the king wanted and acted accordingly. This is almost unequivocal evidence that even before the Siwah visit Alexander believed himself son of Zeus and was angling for oracular confirmation.

In the winter and spring of 331 Alexander had impressive and authoritative testimony that he was son of Zeus. His conviction of divine sonship, however, predated these oracles and, in the case of Miletus at least, gave rise to them. The models for his claim were Heracles and Perseus. There is no hint that it was his Pharaonic titulature, son of Amon-Re, that engendered the idea of divine filiation. Alexander's concept seems to have originated in Greek mythology, and in particular the peculiar status of heroes like Heracles, blessed with both divine and human fathers, seems to have afforded the basis for Alexander's own claims. It is therefore in the Hellenic world that we should look for their origins.

[128] Arr. 2,17,1 and 4.

[129] Diod. 17,40,2; 17,45,7; Curt. 4,4,1 (Tyre); 4,6,30; Arr. 2,25,4 (Gaza); at 3,1,1 Arrian explicitly describes Egypt as Alexander's original objective.

T. S. Brown

Alexander and Greek Athletics, in Fact and in Fiction

One of the tests used to distinguish the Greek from the barbarian, according to Herodotus, was the right to compete in the Olympic games. This test was successfully passed by an early king of Macedonia, Alexander I (the Philhellene), who overcame objections to his competing in the foot race by proving his Argive descent[1]. Evidently the judges did not recognize Macedonians in general as qualified, but were prepared to make an exception in favor of royalty ('nice customs curtsey to great kings'), and the political advantages to be derived from such recognition were not overlooked by later Macedonian monarchs. Philip II, while he took no part in the games personally, did enter a winning horse in the one hundred and sixth Olympics[2]. Greek writers dearly loved synchronisms, so that it comes as no great surprise to read that Philip was informed of three separate pieces of good fortune on a single day: that his horse had won a victory in the Olympics; that his general Parmenion had defeated the Illyrians in battle; and that his wife had presented him with a son[3]. Philip's reasons for seeking a victory at Olympia in 356 B. C. were surely political. This was the very year in which the Phocian (or Sacred) War broke out, a war eventually to be decided by Philip's intervention, presumably an act of piety defending Delphi against the temple robbers. As a result of his actions Philip obtained membership on the Amphictyonic board, a position which led directly to Chaeronea and Macedonian hegemony in Greece. Philip, though an outsider, had managed to associate himself with two of the most popular symbols of Panhellenism: the Olympic games and

[1] See Hdt. 5,22.

[2] See Plut. *Alex.* 3,8. Plutarch does not give the date, but Ol. 106 is certain because of the other events that occurred at about the same time, one of which was Athens' alliance with Cetriporis of Thrace and others in 356 B. C. (see *SIG*[4] 196; Tod, *GHI* 157).

[3] See Plut. 3,8 (where we are told the three messengers reached him κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον); also Plut. *mor.* 105a (ὑφ' ἕνα καιρόν); and *mor.* 177c (where Philip, alluding to the fact that many happy events were reported to him in a single day – ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ – hopes [like Polycrates!] a little bad news may take the curse off his good fortune).

the oracle of Delphi. The importance attached to his victory at Olympia by Philip is reflected by Macedonian coinage[4].

Philip's son Alexander later destroyed the city of Thebes, sparing the house of Pindar as well as Pindar's descendants because of his respect for the poet, according to Arrian[5]. Considering the fact that Pindar's reputation derives from poems he wrote in praise of athletes, Alexander's gesture might be thought to betray his own enthusiasm for the Greek national games, but a more personal motive is suggested by Dio Chrysostom, who attributes Alexander's partiality to a poem Pindar had written in praise of Alexander the Philhellene[6]. Therefore, Alexander may have intended to emphasize his loyalty to former retainers of the royal house, rather than to express his admiration for athletic achievement – especially considering the fact that this particular poem cannot have been written in honor of a victory in the Olympics. It is also worth noting that other Thebans were spared for their political support of Macedonia[7]. Plutarch, in fact, goes out of his way to say in so many words that Alexander did not share Philip's enthusiasm for athletics. Some of his friends asked

[4] The coin evidence is not as clear as it might be. There is a series of silver tetradrachms with the head of Zeus laureate on the obverse and on the reverse a naked boy-rider bearing the palm or crowning his horse, κέλης (*HN*²223, fig. 136). This has been used by Seltman, followed by J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch: Alexander*, 1969 (henceforth simply cited as Hamilton), on 3,8 – ἵππῳ κέλητι – to show that Philip's victory was at Olympia in 356 and in the horse race, as Plutarch says in that passage. Elsewhere (*mor.* 105a) Plutarch refers to a four-horse chariot race (ὅτι τεθρίππῳ νενίκηκεν Ὀλύμπια). To complicate matters further, Philip's gold "*Philippi*" show Apollo on the obverse, and a two-horse chariot on the reverse (*HN*² 223, fig. 135). The gold coins were presumably first issued after the Pangaeus mines were being operated by Philip. Are these coins also "agonistic", and if so do they represent victories at Olympia or at Dium (*HN*² 224)? Alexander is said to have held dramatic contests there at a festival established by Archelaus (Diod. 17,16,3) – or as Arrian says (evidently referring to the same occasion) the games were called τὰ Ὀλύμπια and held in Aegae (*Anab.* 1,11,1). Plutarch (4,9) does not help by his reference to coins depicting Philip's victories in the chariot race at Olympia. Hamilton associates this with the gold "*Philippi*" staters.

[5] See Arr. 1,9,10.

[6] See Dio Chrys. 2,33. This was pointed out by H. U. Instinsky, *Historia* 10, 1961, 248f. For the Pindar fragment see Turyn's edition (Harvard University Press 1948), fr. 126. Turyn also cites Solinus (9,13) in a passage referring to Alexander I and his lavish gifts to Delphi. Solinus notes Alexander's generosity to individuals, ". . . *inter quos et Pindarum lyricum*".

[7] Alexander I did not win outright at Olympia, though he may have qualified for the runoff (?). Cf. Hdt. 5,22,2; Iust. 7,2,14. As to sparing the political friends of Macedon, Plutarch writes (11,12): ὑπεξελόμενος τοὺς ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοῖς ψηφισαμένοις τὴν ἀπόστασιν – a point rightly emphasized by Hamilton (31). But how did the Macedonians identify them? Perhaps they oiled their hair like the traitors in Megara (Thuc. 4,68,5).

Alexander why he did not enter the Olympic games in the foot race, to which the prince is said to have replied that he would willingly do so, but only if the other contestants were kings[8]. Plutarch adds that in general Alexander seemed disinclined towards athletics, preferring contests in tragedy or instrumental music[9]. But in making this observation Plutarch appears to be speaking as a philosopher rather than as the biographer of Alexander. His master Plato had had unkind things to say about athletes, from Socrates' ironic proposal that he be entertained at the Prytaneum like a victorious athlete[10], to the observation that athletes are over-fussy in what they eat, and sleep their lives away[11]. Plutarch, who depicts Alexander as a philosopher, but one who like Pythagoras and others did not write books[12], would therefore be inclined to have his hero show a proper philosophic disdain for the career athlete.

As though to illustrate such an attitude, Alexander is reported by Plutarch elsewhere to have been shown statues of many Olympic and Pythian victors in Miletus. "And where were men like that when the barbarians laid siege to your city?" was Alexander's only comment[13]. But Plutarch does refer to one instance in which Alexander pays homage to the memory of a great athlete, Phayllus of Croton, whose name was known to every reader of Herodotus as that of the captain of the only ship from Croton to fight at Salamis[14]. According to Plutarch, Alexander sent a part of the booty won at Gaugamela to Croton: "honoring the zeal and bravery of the athlete Phayllus who, when the other Italiots despaired of the Greek cause in the Median war, equipped a vessel at his own expense with which he sailed off to Salamis and took part in the battle . . ." None of the other ancient accounts of Alexander refer to this act of generosity,

[8] See Plut. 4,10; see also *mor.* 179d and 331b.

[9] See Plut. 4,11.

[10] See Plato *Apol.* 36d.

[11] See *Rep.* 404a; also 410 – where he points out the need for training in "music" to prevent the brutalizing effects of athletic training by itself. He does favor the latter as necessary for future soldiers (*Laws* 830). Elsewhere he speaks of the athlete as a hater of learning (*Rep.* 535d).

[12] See Plut. *mor.* 328a. Perhaps here we have an echo of the remark attributed to an Indian wise man by Onesicritus that Alexander was a "philosopher in arms" (see *FGrHist* 134 F 17a = Strabo C. 715). It is interesting that in the same fragment Onesicritus associates Pythagoras, Socrates and Diogenes as examples of philosophers whose views are approved by the Indian wise man (also F 17b = Plut. 65). Plutarch has Alexander explain himself as a philosopher to Diogenes (*mor.* 331e–332c).

[13] See Plut. *mor.* 180a.

[14] See Plut. 34,3; Hdt. 8,47.

and in fact it seems rather out of place after Gaugamela. The battle on the Granicus, where he first defeated a Persian army, would have been more appropriate. For at that period in his career Alexander took great pains to emphasize his role as the leader of a Panhellenic expedition against a common enemy. Knowing very well that the Athenians were lukewarm in their support for the invasion, he made a point of sending 300 panoplies captured from the enemy to Athens, as a gift for Athena[15]. In this way he attempted to link the current war with memories of Marathon and Salamis. The wording of the inscription that accompanied the gift carefully separates the Spartans, who had not joined the League of Corinth, from the loyal Greeks who had – perhaps expecting that this distinction might appeal to Athenian *amour-propre*. Nevertheless, when it came to more substantive matters, Alexander refused to release the Athenians taken prisoner fighting on the Persian side at the Granicus, sending them to Macedonia instead where they were kept at hard labor[16]. The allusion in Plutarch to Phayllus of Croton therefore seems out of place after Gaugamela. The threat of Persia as a military power was virtually at an end. From then on Alexander tends to play down his role as leader of a Panhellenic war of revenge (despite the macabre episode at Persepolis) in favor of emphasizing his support for the tradition of the great Cyrus – the ideal of royalty in Greece as well as in Asia. Reconciliation was what the new situation called for, not the renewal of bitter memories; yet Phayllus was preeminently a hero of the Persian war. Sending a share of the booty to Croton would have been good theater after Granicus; it makes no sense where Plutarch puts it, after Gaugamela. The failure of Arrian to mention Alexander's gift to far-off Croton can be explained in either of two ways: Arrian may have left it out because it seemed unimportant to him, or else the gesture was never made by Alexander and therefore was not recorded by Arrian's chief sources – Ptolemy and Aristobulus. The latter alternative is preferable. There was nothing Croton could do for Alexander, and it would not have been like him to make a purely quixotic gesture. Where then did Plutarch find the story about rewarding Croton for the conduct of Phayllus? Its absence in Curtius Rufus, Diodorus and Justin might seem to eliminate their common source, Clitarchus, but with Plutarch's scant regard for chronology it is just conceivable that he transferred the

[15] Cf. Arr. 1,16,7; Plut. 16,18.

[16] See Arr. 1,16,6 and 1,29,5f. On Athenian feelings at the time, see T. S. Brown, *Timaeus of Tauromenium*, 1958, 8.

setting from the Granicus to Gaugamela; and if that is what he did Clitarchus may still be the original source, because the first two books of Curtius Rufus (including the account of Granicus) have been lost, and Curtius is by far the most prolific of the Clitarchan writers. But while Plutarch reports this gift to Croton after Gaugamela, which no other writer mentions, he also adds a gift for Olympias after the Granicus, which is found nowhere else. To her he sends all the Persian drinking cups, purple garments and, "whatever things of that sort he took from the Persians"[17]. We may assume that both gifts were mentioned by Plutarch for the light they shed on the donor. The luxuries Alexander sent his mother, after this first battle in Asia, show both his regard for Olympias and his own early disinterest in such refinements, while the gift to Croton enables Plutarch to illustrate his hero's proper sense of proportion about the athletic games. For Phayllus is so famous as an athlete that he became the embodiment of athletic prowess on the Athenian comic stage, and yet he is admired by Alexander not for such jejune accomplishments but only for his single-handed efforts in bringing a ship all the way from Italy to help the Greeks in the decisive battle of Salamis[18].

Leaving Phayllus, let us return for a moment to Alexander's own athletic prowess as described in our literary sources. We have already seen that Plutarch makes him turn down the suggestion of his friends that he enter the Olympics as a competitor in the foot race, because the other competitors were not kings[19]. However, in the Alexander-Romance this has all been changed. For there, at the age of fifteen Alexander begs his father to allow him to compete in the Olympics. But Philip is reluctant, because: "you do not know how to fight nor wrestle, nor any other discipline". But Alexander intends to enter in the chariot race[20]. When the

[17] See Plut. 16,19.

[18] An inscription on the Athenian acropolis commemorates Phayllus: . . . ὁ νικῶν τρὶς ἀγῶνα / τὸμ Πυθοῖ καὶ νῆας ἐλών . . . (Tod, *GHI* 21); see also *SIG*[4] 30, and esp. n. 1 – including his feats as a jumper (some fifty-five feet [!] which Dittenberger mentions . . . *de Phayllı saltu tripartito* – Hamilton 92 suggests this may have been "a hop, step and jump"). See also Aristoph. *Ach.* 215; *Wasps* 1206 – in both of which Phayllus is a runner. Although Pausanias (10,9,2) says Phayllus never won at Olympia, the *Suda* is more generous if not more accurate in speaking of Phayllus as the name of a δρομέως ἀρίστου ὀλυμπιονίκου.

[19] See n. 8. It is interesting to compare Plutarch's idea of how a prince behaves with that of Xenophon, where the young Cyrus is said to have laughed at his own awkwardness in competing against his Median friends in feats of horsemanship (*Cyrop.* 1,4,4).

[20] This is quoted from the Armenian version (*The Romance of Alexander the Great*, transl. by A. M. Wolohojian, 1969, ch. 49). In the familiar Greek text of Mueller, Philip

young Macedonian prince arrives in Pisa *(sic)* he finds that of the nine charioteers in the race three of the others are the sons of kings while the rest are generals or satraps(!)[21]. The race itself ended with Alexander's victory, in the course of which he deliberately ran down his leading opponent, killing him on the spot[22].

The transformation of the youthful prince from a swift runner into a charioteer is significant, for while his proficiency in neither activity can be supported by hard fact, both relate to the historic efforts made by the kings of Macedonia to present themselves in a favorable light to their Greek neighbors. As was noted earlier, Alexander I had won recognition by competing at Olympia in the foot race[23]. His namesake, our Alexander, emulated his ancestor Achilles, whose epithet in the *Iliad* (which his descendant kept beside his bed) is "swift of foot"[24]. The prestige of winning the foot race is vouched for as early as Xenophanes, no lover of athletics in general[25].

Equally admired south of the border, however, was horsemanship. This was a sport available only to the very rich[26]. It is significant that after Alexander I got possession of wealthy silver mines as the result of his conquest of the Bisaltae, he introduced a new series of coins showing a warrior standing beside his horse[27]. Horses continued to be represented on later Macedonian coins on down through Philip II, who was inordinately proud of the victory of his horse at Olympia[28]. Philip's son, therefore, was certain to have been introduced to horses at an early age. We are fortunate in having Plutarch's account of how the young Alexander succeeded in taming Bucephalus. As a well-known scholar pointed

merely asks Alexander what contest he has in mind, without any comment on his ability, then offers the use of his horses, but Alexander prefers horses he has raised himself (see Mueller's edition of Ps.-Call. in the Didot Arrian, vol. 1,18).

[21] See Ps.-Call. 1,19; Armen. transl. 54.

[22] See Ps.-Call. 1,19; Armen. transl. 54.

[23] See n. 1.

[24] For the so-called "casket" copy of the *Iliad*, which Alexander is said to have kept with him, see Plut. 8,2 and Hamilton's comment on the passage. It was through Olympias that Alexander claimed descent from Achilles.

[25] See Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[6], 21 B 2, line 15.

[26] Cf. Hdt. 6,35, where he speaks of Miltiades, son of Cypselus, as belonging to an οἰκίη τεθριπποτρόφος; and Aristoph. *Clouds* (12–34), where Strepsiades complains about his son's extravagance; also note (*ibid.* 64f.) that names compounded with ἵππος are regarded as aristocratic.

[27] See *HN*[2] 219f.

[28] On Philip's coins see n. 4.

out not long ago we have no direct evidence on how horses were broken in in antiquity, but judging by the second-hand account in Plutarch the colts apparently were mounted and ridden without preliminaries, and "this is all very well if the rider be good enough"[29]. Apparently Alexander was good enough, so that with the taming of Bucephalus we are probably on solid ground so far as the facts are concerned.

This was not enough for the Alexander-Romance, however, where we find Alexander going to the Olympics with a four-horse chariot. A relationship between the taming of Bucephalus and victory at Olympia is clearly indicated. Not only do they occur in successive chapters[30], but also Alexander refuses Philip's offer of horses, preferring to use those he has raised himself[31]. A connection between Plutarch (or his source) and the Alexander-Romance is also suggested by Philip's remark after his son had broken in a supposedly unmanageable horse. Plutarch makes Philip say: "Find a kingdom worthy of yourself, Macedonia is not big enough for you!"; while in Pseudo-Callisthenes he kisses him, and cries: "Hail Alexander, ruler of the world"[32]!

The historical Alexander the Great did not compete at Olympia, but he never lost sight of the importance of that festival in influencing Greek opinion. The tyrant Dionysius had found this out to his sorrow when his tents there were ransacked by a mob stirred into action by the eloquence of Lysias[33]. So it was no accident that Alexander chose the Olympic games as the occasion for promulgating his new policy of restoring the Greek exiles[34].

But in addition to the prestige that went with victory in one of the Panhellenic games and the political advantages to be derived from it for Macedon, there remains the question of the athlete as a soldier. Did victors in the games make good officer material? At one time this was certainly true[35], but name athletes play no role in Alexander's army. An

[29] See J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 1961, 99; also see Plut. 6, and Hamilton's comments.

[30] *Viz.* Ps.-Call. 1,17 and 18, and Armen. transl. 47–54. The story is improved upon, in that Bucephalus was a man-eating horse until Alexander gentled him.

[31] Wolohojian's translation of the Armenian version has Alexander speak of a single horse – and that must mean Bucephalus.

[32] Cf. Plut. 6,8; Ps.-Call. 1,17; Armen. transl. 48.

[33] See Diod. 14,109,3. Diodorus has confused matters. The violence is more apt to have been politically motivated (Lysias) than aesthetically (Dionysius' wretched verses).

[34] See Diod. 17,109,1. Titus Flamininus followed in Alexander's footsteps, proclaiming the freedom of the Greeks at the Isthmia (Plut. *Flam.* 10,4).

[35] This is shown by the many references to the warlike prowess of athletes in Herodotus.

obvious reason might seem to be that the elite of the army were Macedonians who did not have the aristocratic Greek traditions of competing in the games – in fact, as Macedonians they were long not eligible to do so. However, the Macedonians had taken over the Greek use of athletics as a means of maintaining military fitness. Xenophon describes the daily life of a Greek army on campaign in enemy territory, and under the most adverse conditions. These men were professional soldiers, yet at every opportunity they held athletic contests among themselves. For example, after surviving the hardships of crossing the Armenian highlands in the dead of winter, when they finally reached the coast of the Black Sea they held competitions in the stade, the *dolichus* (the long race), wrestling, boxing and the *pancration*. And, despite the rough ground, they laid out a special course for a horse race[36]. The games served the double purpose of conditioning (for the participants) and morale building (for the spectators). Alexander, who would certainly have been familiar with Xenophon's writings, also held athletic contests at frequent intervals.

Before marching to the Hellespont he celebrated the Olympian festival established at Aegae by King Archelaus, which included athletic contests[37]. After crossing over into Asia, and throughout his wars Alexander continued to hold gymnastic (as well as musical) contests[38]. One of these, held on the lower Indus, deserves special consideration because for the first time the center of interest is an athlete with an international reputation, Dioxippus of Athens.

The account of Dioxippus, though not given by Justin, comes down to us in the other two Clitarchan writers, Diodorus and Q. Curtius Rufus. Plutarch does not mention him in the *Life*, but there can be little doubt that the Dioxippus of Athens who accompanied Alexander is the same man as the Athenian Dioxippus described elsewhere[39]. When this famous athlete joined Alexander we have no way of knowing, but he was there as an entertainer, not as an active member of the armed services. It may well

[36] See Xen. *Anab.* 4,8,27f.

[37] See Arr. 1,11,1; Diod. 17,16,3 (with Welles' note in the Loeb edition).

[38] On these *agones*, both gymnastic and musical, see Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1, 75 and 89; also Hamilton 13.

[39] In Hyperides he is mentioned as the brother of the woman Lycophron is alleged to have seduced, and this Dioxippus has a trainer (Hyperid. 2,5). Plutarch tells a story about him, as an Olympic victor who could not take his eyes off a handsome prostitute (*mor.* 521b; also see Ael. *v. h.* 12,58). Pliny says Dioxippus won the *pancration* at Olympia and had his picture painted by Alcimachus (*n. h.* 35,138). In a story about the Cynic Diogenes, Xanthippus serves to typify athletes in general (Diog. Laert. 6,43).

be that by Alexander's time officer training had become too demanding for a trainee to take the time necessary for becoming an international athlete. We first meet Dioxippus at a banquet given by Alexander to honor the hundred envoys who had come in from neighboring states to acknowledge Macedonian supremacy[40]. At the banquet, as the drinking progressed, so did the conversation, and more and more a particular theme emerged. The famous drinking party at Maracanda had resulted in a confrontation between Alexander and his old friend Clitus, the champion of the good old days of Philip[41]. But the army on the Indus was greatly changed, freedom of speech had become much less possible than on that earlier occasion. Nevertheless, bitterness was present just below the surface and, as at Maracanda, the army had just been through a difficult time. The long marches, the heat and the incessant rains had all taken their toll. And now, instead of the rapid return home most of the men had hoped for, here they were heading toward yet another remote and unknown part of the world. The king himself had barely recovered from the wound received during a reckless assault on an obscure Indian town, and a false report of his death had led to internal dissension among the military colonists left behind in Bactria[42]. A safe outlet for the feeling of frustration was furnished by the presence of Dioxippus at the banquet. A group of soldiers began taunting him, comparing their arduous and dangerous military duties with the soft life of an athlete, when Coragus, a Macedonian officer who was in his cups, a man with a distinguished military record, broke into the conversation and challenged Dioxippus to meet him the next day – if, that is, he were man enough to do so. Under pressure by the bystanders the Athenian athlete accepted the challenge[43].

We are told by Curtius that the next day Alexander tried to persuade both men to call off the encounter, but was unable to do so, while Diodorus gives a slightly different picture, with Alexander, along with

[40] See Curt. 9,7,12–15. Diodorus, in an abbreviated account (17,100,1) merely mentions that Alexander held a banquet for his friends after he recovered from his wound.

[41] For a good account of the Clitus affair, see Fritz Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Große*[2], 363ff. For other references see Hamilton 139.

[42] See Diod. 17,99,5. The utter exhaustion of the army that led to their refusal to follow Alexander beyond the Hyphasis into the unknown east is convincingly described by Professor Schachermeyr (*op. cit.*, 435). And now they are still on the move, towards the unknown south.

[43] Cf. Curt. 9,7,16–18; Diod. 17,100,1–2. The Macedonian is Coragus (Diod.), Corratas or Horratas (Curt.). See Berve, *op. cit.* (n. 38), no. 445. He thinks Corragus was one of the Companions.

other Macedonians, warmly supporting Coragus while the Greeks all turned out to cheer for Dioxippus[44]. The two men met, Coragus fully armed as a Macedonian soldier, Dioxippus merely carrying a knotty club in his right hand, with a small purple cloak *(amiculum)* wrapped around his left arm[45]. But the athlete, after dodging Coragus' javelin, moved in close before his adversary could draw his sword and threw him to the ground. Raising his club, Dioxippus was about to despatch him, but at this point Alexander intervened, terminating the duel without bloodshed[46]. The incident was not closed, however. Alexander is said to have been particularly vexed because a Macedonian soldier had been humiliated in the presence of *barbari* (i. e., the 100 envoys?)[47]. Consequently, at another banquet a few days later, a gold cup was surreptitiously removed. The very ones who removed it then complained to the king that it had been stolen[48], and Dioxippus, realizing he was the intended victim of their charges committed suicide. Alexander is said to have expressed sorrow over what had happened. Noting the pleasure in the faces of Dioxippus' accusers he also concluded that they had maligned him[49].

This account in Curtius is more circumstantial than that in Diodorus, though the underlying facts are the same. But Diodorus' shorter narrative adds the following significant detail: οἵ τε φίλοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν Μακεδόνες. . . ἔπεισαν μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διακονίας τεταγμένον ὑποβαλεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον [sc. Διωξίππου] χρυσοῦν ποτήριον . . .[50]. And here we are reminded of the way Joseph incriminated his brother Benjamin (*Gen.* 44). Is it conceivable that Alexander himself may have been responsible for such a trick? Granting that he was sufficiently provoked with Dioxippus the possibility cannot be ignored, for Alexander was clever and he could be devious when he wished to discredit a popular figure. His treatment of Philotas and his father Parmenion illustrates this,

[44] Cf. Curt. 9,7,18; Diod. 17,100,4.

[45] Diodorus compares Coragus with Ares, Dioxippus with Heracles. Welles notes that in another passage Diodorus depicts an eccentric Argive general named Nicostratus as going into battle carrying a club (Diod. 16,44; see Welles' note in the Loeb edition, vol. 8, Add. p. 474). Nicostratus also wore a lion's skin.

[46] Aelian, to be sure, improves on the story by having Dioxippus kill his opponent, thus causing Alexander to hate him (*v. h.* 10,22).

[47] Curt. 9,7,23.

[48] Curt. 9,7,24.

[49] Curt. 9,7,25f.

[50] Diod. 17,101,3.

and so does the removal of Callisthenes[51]. The question then, is whether Dioxippus had become *persona non grata*. At this point a fragment of Aristobulus is worth quoting in full[52]: "Aristobulus of Cassandrea says that Dioxippus the Athenian pancratiast once remarked, when Alexander was wounded, '*Ichor*, such as flows from the immortal gods'". Tarn, who cites this fragment, compares it with another passage in Plutarch, where the wounded Alexander says: "This is blood, not '*ichor* such as flows from the immortal gods'", to rebuke his flatterers[53]. The English scholar goes on to argue that, "we have here two halves of the same story, Athenaeus only giving part of what Aristobulus said; in the full story, it was obviously Dioxippus, not Alexander, who quoted Homer's line, and Alexander snubbed him by saying, 'It's not *ichor* it's blood'". But this is less than candid, because according to Tarn even what Athenaeus does give is wrong. Yet on the basis of the Plutarch passage (where Aristobulus is not cited and Dioxippus not mentioned) Tarn feels justified in correcting what Athenaeus tells us Aristobulus wrote! Tarn also notes a passage in Diogenes Laertius (9,60). There, Anaxarchus, seeing the blood flow from Alexander's wound remarks: "This is blood and not '*Ichor* such as flows from the immortal gods'"! This Tarn rejects as out of character. But he fails to note that Diogenes Laertius also *cites Plutarch as a variant*. That means the doxographer thought Plutarch was speaking of Alexander and Anaxarchus, not as Tarn assumes, of Alexander and Dioxippus. Or does he also intend to correct the text of Diogenes Laertius? The key may be found in a passage in Seneca, where we are informed that Alexander killed Callisthenes for his untimely witticisms *(liberos sales)*. Seneca continues: *nam cum se deum vellet videri et vulneratus esset, viso sanguine eius philosophus* [i. e., Callisthenes] *mirari se dixerat, quod non esset* ἴχωρ, οἷός περ ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν[54]. It was Alexander himself who claimed to be divine, therefore the Homeric line can much more appropriately have been used by someone else to remind Alexander of his humanity, than by Alexander to rebuke a flatterer for agreeing with him!

[51] For Philotas and Parmenion, see Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 326ff.; for Callisthenes, G. T. Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great: The Main Problems*, 29ff.

[52] See *FGrHist* 139 F 47 = Athen. 6,251a.

[53] See Plut. *mor.* 341b; Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2,358 n. 5. The Homeric reference is E 340.

[54] See Seneca *Suas.* 1,5 = *FGrHist* 124 T 13.

The question that remains to be answered is whether it was Callisthenes, Anaxarchus or Dioxippus who actually quoted the familiar line from the *Iliad*. Without proof positive, it is my own opinion that Callisthenes was sufficiently tactless but not witty enough to do so, Anaxarchus witty enough, but far too much of a courtier. That leaves us with Dioxippus. A wrestler, even an Athenian wrestler, is not expected to be a wit. Therefore, such a story is not apt to have been invented about him, which makes it probable that in fact he made the remark. It would not be surprising to find some later writer substituting a literary figure such as Callisthenes or Anaxarchus to make the story more plausible. From what we know about Alexander the following sequence of events may be suggested as the kind of thing that may have happened.

1. Alexander was slightly wounded in the campaign against the Assaceni[55]. Noting that he was bleeding, Dioxippus said: "This is blood, not '*Ichor* such as flows from the immortal gods'". Or, perhaps even better, he may simply have quoted Homer *sotto voce*, letting Alexander draw his own conclusions. 2. Alexander was irked, knowing (from his earlier experience with the *proskynesis*) that no weapon is more deadly than ridicule. 3. Sometime later – he had had leisure for reflection after his near fatal wound – the king seized on the occasion of a banquet to goad Dioxippus into a duel with the Macedonian champion, intending to get him out of the way. 4. When this failed, Alexander concealed his displeasure and continued to treat Dioxippus as he had before. 5. Finally, at another banquet to which the athlete had been invited, the trap was sprung and Dioxippus felt that he must take his own life to avoid being branded as a thief. 6. Alexander expressed his sorrow and, now that Dioxippus was dead, he was also declared to have been innocent.

If this is in fact what did happen, Arrian would not have found the strange duel described in the pages of Ptolemy or Aristobulus, neither of whom would have cared to record the humiliation of Coragus. Clitarchus, on the other hand, would have had no reason not to include it, and it is a reasonable inference from its appearance in Diodorus and Curtius that he did so. Trogus Pompeius may also have included it, though Justin left it out in his drastic abridgment. Like so many other matters connected with Alexander this is all hypothesis. The state of our evidence permits nothing else, but our interest in the subject prompts some attempt to fill in the gaps by conjecture.

[55] See *FGrHist* 2 B Komm., p. 519, lines 36ff.

How does all this relate to the general topic of Alexander and Greek athletics? Perhaps the most important point is that athletic champions were not regarded as promising military material in Alexander's day. Instead, like jugglers, tragic actors and musicians they went out to the front as entertainers. Most soldiers, like Coragus, probably regarded them with mixed feelings of envy and contempt: envy for what seemed an easy way of life compared with their own, and contempt for their uselessness. Presumably a wrestler, for all his fine muscles, would not be able to endure the long marches and inadequate food which too often made up the daily lot of Alexander's soldiers.

The high reputation of Greek athletes survived in fiction long after they had lost caste in the workaday world. In the Alexander-Romance we read that after taking Corinth Alexander was invited to preside over the Isthmian games. One of the competitors was the Theban Clitomachus, who had entered his name in three different events: wrestling, boxing and the *pancration*. He won the wrestling championship first and was crowned by Alexander, who promised that if he also won the other two events he would grant him any boon within his power. Accordingly, when he went up to Alexander to be crowned for his third victory the king asked him what his city was. Clitomachus replied that though he once had a city, Alexander had destroyed it. Thereupon Alexander congratulated him, and ordered that his native city of Thebes be rebuilt[56]. But for later taste it no longer seemed plausible that such an honor should have been given to an athlete so the story was changed. Alexander was entertained so skillfully by a juggler that in return the king rewarded him with the rule of the city of "Trage" (Tarsus?), his native city having been destroyed[57].

We may close our discussion with the words attributed to Alexander as he lay on his deathbed. When asked to whom he left his kingdom, he said he left it to the best man, adding that the contest that ensued would provide him with splendid funeral games[58]. Not an inappropriate metaphor for a prince who had been ushered into life by a victory in the Olympic games, and like so many deathbed speeches it is probably much better than what was actually said.

[56] See Ps.-Call. 1,47; Armen. transl. 134; also H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2, no. 508.

[57] A good case can be made for this origin of the juggler story. See G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 1956, 364.

[58] Cf. Curt. 10,5,5; Arr. 7,26,3; Diod. 17,117,4.

A. R. Burn

Thermopylai Revisited and some Topographical Notes on Marathon and Plataiai

Three years in Greece (1969–72) as tutor to American students, and similar employment at the Aegean Institute summer-schools at Galatá in Troizenia in most summers from 1967 to 1974 have given the writer opportunities to revisit at greater leisure many Greek sites, including the Persian War battlefields. It is hoped that the following notes may be found not unworthy of presentation to the great historian whom we honor in these pages[1]. They confess changes in view since 1970, in the light of new discoveries, on some subjects, but not on all. They represent probably the writer's last conclusions, since his capacity for hill-walking must in future be limited.

1. Marathon

Much work has been done at Marathon since the appearance of my *Persia and the Greeks*, 1962; some of it too late for even a footnote-reference in the revised reprint of 1970; and not merely theorizing, of which the famous campaign has received plenty, but discovery on the ground.

The Trophy: Vanderpool has re-identified the remains of a single large white marble Ionic column, built piecemeal into the lowest storey of a

[1] My thanks are due to Mrs Ismene Phylaktopoulos, who invited me as Visiting Professor to A College Year in Athens, Inc., in 1969, and kept me till 1972; to the late George Séféris, whom I consulted on the question of accepting employment in Greece under the late *junta*, and who gave it his blessing; to W. K. Pritchett for the gift of his *Studies in Greek Topography*, 1965; to Eugene Vanderpool for that of offprints of his articles, and to him and Peter Green for informal discussions; to the late Professor Marinatos – killed literally in action in the excavations on Thera in 1974 – for a personally-conducted visit to the "Tomb of the Plataians", in whose authenticity I believe, at Marathon; and to Dr Niki Stavroulakis (*née* Skouphopoulos), Director of the Aegean Institute summer-schools.

mediaeval tower, near the Mesosporitissa Chapel, first surmised by Leake in 1829 to be the chief member of the Athenian *tropaion* for the victory. It is near the edge of the Great Marsh (the only marsh in the plain of Marathon in antiquity), and near the area where, also in the 19th century, there were found masses of human bones, shovelled roughly into shallow trenches; pretty certainly those of the Persians and Sakai who, having broken through the thin Athenian centre, were cut off from their ships and trapped between the victorious Greeks and the Marsh; an episode which as we know formed a whole scene in the mural painting of the battle in the *Stoa Poikile*. The Athenians had buried them, as their descendants assured Pausanias; but without ceremony. Pausanias mentions this immediately after referring to the trophy, but could see no sign of the grave[2]. This identification would place the chief slaughter of the defeated Persians a good deal further from the sea than I had suggested in my book (sketch-map, p. 244).

The Herakleion and the Road to Athens: Vanderpool has also stressed the significance of the discovery at the south end of the plain, near the sea and the debouchement of the road from Athens, of two inscribed stones indicating that they came from the Herakleion, in and round which, as Herodotos says (6,108; 116), the Athenians encamped. They had been re-used in later buildings, but they are heavy blocks and unlikely to have been moved far[3]. This, though not absolutely conclusive, does support the view that the Marathon Herakleion was near the sea and the main road, and not as I, following earlier scholars, had placed it, over a mile inland towards the Vrana valley, around the Chapel of St Demetrios, supposing that soldier-saint to have replaced the hero. Vanderpool's view is also tactically more satisfactory, since it would make the Athenians encamp directly blocking, instead of only threatening from a flank, the coast-road, the main (presumably cart-) track to Athens by Pallene; the road by which Hippias had ridden with his father in their advance from Marathon over fifty years before (Hdt. 1,62) and which he surely hoped to use again; and the road by which, I am convinced, the Athenians must have moved both in their march out and in their heroic dash back to save Athens after the battle. This conviction at least I confirmed in 1971, when I took an

[2] Pausan. 1,32,4; Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 93ff.; actually the first regular publication of the fragments of this monument, which as he says had been almost forgotten during our century. For Leake's identification, see Vanderpool, *op. cit.* n. 1 and n. 17.

[3] Vanderpool, *AJA* 70, 1966, 329ff.

opportunity to follow the hill-path from Vrana upwards to the road through Kephisia. It must be emphasized that the col on this *shortest* route to Athens, so much favored by students of Marathon who take their topography from maps, and also (a more serious matter) by that heroic walker Professor N. G. L. Hammond[4], is 550 metres above sea-level – half the height of Mount Pentelikos. The ascent is steep, and I remain convinced, as an old mountaineer and hill-walker, that even the most redoubtable pedestrian would be well advised to choose about 42 km, from the *Soros* to Kynosarges via Pallene, rather than about 39 km by Kephisia. And for an army, the advantage of moving on a "made" road rather than over rough country is multiplied, since every momentary check for each man at an awkward place is multiplied by the number of men who have to follow him. No march-discipline or prowess can then prevent appalling straggling. Nor is the valley-head (let alone a mountain path; and the slope is too steep for a cart-track) wide enough for many men to move abreast.

The Tomb of the Plataians: The Plataians, who at the Battle of Plataiai numbered 600 (not the traditional 1000; see Hdt. 9,28,6), may on the other hand quite possibly have come *down* this path; there was no need for them to march by way of Athens. They would then have encamped, as they fought, on the left of the Athenian position, which allowing for at least 10,000 slaves and other light-armed in addition to the hoplites who did all the decisive fighting, must have extended some distance inland. Their camp-site would thus have been not very far from the remarkable multiple inhumation-burial discovered in 1970 by the Ephor E. Mastrokostas and excavated by Marinatos, who was convinced that it was the tomb of the Plataians killed at Marathon. A wide mound, inconspicuous in the scrub before its discovery, has been half excavated (the other half being wisely left for later exploration in the light of further knowledge) and replaced with a concrete roof, making it possible to view the burials within. Thirteen skeletons lay in separate graves, each with a headstone, set in place before the cairn was heaped over all, and with a plate, consistent with an early fifth-century date, presumably with food. All were certified by Professor Breitlinger of Vienna to be males, eleven of them aged between 20 and 30, with one man of about 40, who alone had a name scratched on his headstone (ARCHIAS), and a boy of about 10. Archias, if the theory is correct, was presumably an officer. His grave contained

[4] Most recently in *Studies in Greek History*, 1973, 224 and 226.

also a Boiotian cup (a *skyphos*). The child is unexplained but, on the theory, must have got mixed up in the fighting, perhaps as someone's page-boy, in circumstances that gave him the honor of being deemed killed in action. There are those (not least, some who regret that Mastrokostas was not left to conduct his own excavation), who hold that the mound covered an ordinary family burial-place; but against this is the absence of any women, old people or other children, which would be statistically most improbable, and the uniformity of the burials. We know of only one scourge that concentrates its ravages like this upon young males; and that is war. Personally, therefore, I would accept Marinatos' theory, though not his consequent reconstruction of the battle[5].

Conclusions: As to the alignment of the Athenian army before its charge, Vanderpool's siting of the Herakleion near the sea obviously strengthens the grounds for supposing the Athenian right wing to have rested *on* the sea, as has long been supposed by a minority of the innumerable reconstructors of the famous battle. And yet there remain the two phrases of Herodotos, both in 6,113, in which the initially victorious Persian centre pursues "inland", "into the *mesogaia*"[6], and the finally victorious Greeks pursue "until they *came to* the sea". It seems that the battle must have ebbed and flowed at least partly up and down the Vrana valley. If encamped with their backs to Pentelikos, the Athenians might still have swung their left forward across the valley. It must be confessed that, even with the latest additions to our knowledge, many details about Marathon are likely to remain the subject of argument among scholars for the foreseeable future[7].

One final piece of advice to visitors to the site. Not only olives and other trees but proliferating houses now make it difficult to imagine the battlefield as it was, when one is actually on even the vantage-point of the Tomb of the Athenians. But there is now a road from Kephisia to Nea Makrí at the south end of the plain; and at the point where it begins its

[5] For fuller description of the finds (still mostly in Greek) see references in the Hellenic Society and British School *Archaeological Reports*, 1969/70, 6; 1970/71, 5; and equivalent publications of the other archaeological Schools in Athens.

[6] I therefore cannot accept Green's suggestion that the Persians pursued southward, "towards, the *mesogeia*" or midlands, which is the name of a plain in southern Attica. Herodotos does not say "towards"; he says "into"! (See Green, *The Year of Salamis*, 1970, 37.)

[7] As was wittily pointed out in a classical paper by N. Whatley "On the Possibility of Reconstructing Marathon and Other Ancient Battles", read in Oxford in 1920 and belatedly published after the persuasion of its now aged author, in *JHS* 84, 1964, 119ff.

serpentine descent, an unrivalled view over the whole plain can be obtained. From this point, now easy to reach (and even provided with a roadside restaurant) future visitors may be recommended, Herodotos in hand, to begin their on-the-spot studies.

2. *Plataiai*

Erythrai, Hysiai and Skolos: In this area Professor W. K. Pritchett continued in the early 1960s his assiduous surface exploration and "pot-sherding", and reached some important new conclusions. "Sherding" and the interrogation of inhabitants in and around Kriekouki (officially Erythrai, on the modern road) drew blank. I have pleasure in withdrawing my suspicions that ancient Hysiai or Erythrai might underlie that extensive modern site[8]. But Pritchett did find signs of two considerable ancient villages, including classical pottery, at points to the east. The further is some 10 km from Kriekouki, near Darimári (now officially Dáphnē), at a *metochí* or grange of the monastery of Osios Melétios. (The monastery itself is south of the Pástra ridge, visible away to the right as one approaches the Gyphtókastro Pass on the road from the south.) The other is south of the Dáphnē-Kriekouki road, on a ridge of Mount Pástra named from a chapel of the Pantánassa. These sites, in the absence of others with classical remains, are strong candidates for Erythrai and Hysiai respectively. They would be, as Pausanias says (9,2,1) "a little to the right from the direct road" from Attica, and the fact that the Pantánassa site stands high accounts for the fact that the Greek army in Herodotos (9,25), moving from the territory of Erythrai to that of Plataiai, goes *parà Hysiás*, past, not through it[9].

Skolos, where Mardonios built his palisaded camp, is approximately located by Pausanias (9,4,3): "On the road from Plataiai to Thebes, . . . *before crossing the Asopos*, turn downstream, keeping along the bank, and

[8] Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part I, *University of California Publications: Classical Studies 1*, 1965, Chap. viii, "Plataia Revisited"; p. 105 corrects my note in *Persia and the Greeks* 518 n. 17.

[9] Hammond, *Studies in Greek History*, 444, on the position of Eleutherai, introduces a complication by describing Pausanias as going *from* Plataiai *to* it; presumably citing from memory, since Pausanias' text is quite plain. He identifies Eleutherai with Gyphtókastro, with which I would agree, but the pass there with that known as the "Oak-Heads", with which, as will appear below, I would not. (For the phrase παρὰ Ὑσιάς' cf. also Hdt. 9,15,3, on the Persian line.)

in some 40 stades" (*ca* 7.5 km) "you come to the ruins of Skolos". Pritchett quotes these lines in the Greek, but, despite the words which I have italicised, prefers to follow Grundy[10], who says that since Skolos was in Theban territory it must have been north of the stream. *Non sequitur;* Herodotos only says (6,108, end) that the Athenians pushed back to the Asopos the Theban frontier with Plataiai and Hysiai, which are further west. Pritchett however "resolved to explore the north bank first"; and south of Neochoraki, near the river bank, he did find classical pottery and squared stones, including a tombstone. There may well have been houses and tombs of Skolos on both banks; but Pausanias, a good professional topographer, deserves less cavalier treatment than that. No doubt Mardonios' fortification was north of the river; but he first engaged the Greeks at Erythrai, south of it (Hdt. 9,20).

There is indeed one puzzling consequence of locating Skolos here. It concerns Agesilaos' campaign in 377. Having reached Plataiai, he ordered supplies to be made ready and arranged to meet sundry ambassadors, at Thespiai; an arrangement which, as he intended, leaked out, and drew the Thebans west to meet an attack from that direction. He then marched out at dawn "on the Erythrai road and, having covered in one day two days' march *for an army*" (the soldier Xenophon notes: *Hell.* 5,4,49) captured by surprise the Theban field-works guarding their frontier at Skolos. Yet according to Pausanias' MSS, Skolos should have been only about three hours from Plataiai for an individual; and even allowing for a column several miles long, it was scarcely a great forced march, unless Agesilaos made a detour. If he did, Xenophon should have mentioned it; but Xenophon's omissions are notorious. If the army did make a detour, turning off into the then wooded hills by Hysiai and reaching Erythrai by a route south of Pástra (emerging, if at the Dáphnē site, actually south-*east* of Skolos), then this really would have been a forced march, not so much because of the distance, still only some 30 km, as because of the atrocious going *for an army,* strung out on hill tracks. Four years later, we notice, the *Boiotarches* Neokles did do this in the opposite direction, surprising Plataiai by a march "via Hysiai and Eleutherai, into Attica, where there was not so much as a sentry posted" (Pausanias 9,1, end) – and without interference from any Athenians at Eleutherai, presumably because Sphodrias' adventure had thrown Athens into alliance with Thebes, though the

[10] G. B. Grundy, *Topography of the Battle of Plataea,* London 1894, 14; cf. Pritchett, *op. cit.,* 107 and 108f.

Athenians did harbor the exiled Plataians. Xenophon does not mention Neokles' march at all. But was it an example of Agesilaos' "teaching the Thebans the art of war" as Antalkidas in Plutarch's *Life* of the king is said to have complained?

Returning to the campaign of 479, we notice that if the Greeks, arriving at Erythrai from Eleusis (Herodotos does not tell us by what route), had come over the pass of Gyphtókastro on the main road to Thebes, as I used to suppose, they had to deploy a long way to the right to reach that position, facing Mardonios' stockade. They may have done so (shielded side towards the enemy, as Greeks always preferred); but I am now inclined to think, with Pritchett[11], that they may well have used the pass called Portés (officially called Pylē), which debouches upon Dáphnē (Darimári). To do this they would not have had to follow the proverbially unattractive route by Phylē and the plain of Skourta[12]: they could have branched right in the plain south-east of Gyphtókastro; for it *is* safe to assume a cart-track past the site of the next major Athenian border-fort, east of Osios Melétios' monastery, which may have been Panakton.

The Heroion of Androkrates and the Pass of Dryoskephalai: On Pritchett's next topic, the *temenos* of the hero Androkrates, I have nothing to add to what I have written elsewhere. Plutarch (*Aristeides* 11,8) calls it a grove; it was no imposing edifice, but unmistakable. Herodotos' account in 9,25 was clear, and if it is unclear to us, it is only because his landmarks have disappeared. It was in the Greek camping area, as were the Gargaphia (Rhetsi ?) springs, and behind the battle-line stretching over the knolls. It was little over a kilometre north of Plataiai (Pritchett's suggested site near the Apotrype, or Alepotrype, spring may be correct), and to the right of the Plataiai-Thebes road, as is shown by the well-thumbed text of Thucydides 3,24. The escapers from Plataiai

> "set off, keeping together, on the road to Thebes, with the *heroion* of Androkrates on their right, thinking that that was the last way the enemy would expect them to go[13]; also, they saw the Peloponnesian pursuers out on the road to Kithairon and the Oak Heads, in the direction of Athens, with lanterns. The Plataians followed the Thebes road for six or seven stades; then they turned, on the road towards the mountains leading to Erythrai and Hysiai, took the hills and got away to Athens".

[11] Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 109 n. 19.

[12] Cf. Strabon 9, C. 408 for the proverb εἰς Σκῶλον μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἴμεν μήτ' ἄλλῳ ἕπεσθαι (cf. *Corpus Paroem. Graec.* 1,247,13–15; 2,387,10f. [Ps-Diog. 4,93; Apostol. 6,81]).

[13] Cf. *Joshua* ii 16. The trick is as old as Rahab's profession; yet it still often works.

There is really no more to be said, except by those who think that ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ ἡρῷον can mean that they started with the *heroion* a mile away on the right of their road, invisible on a moonless and stormy night (Thuc. 3,22,1) and then turned, leaving it on their *left*.

The Oak Heads Pass was thus the direct route from the Athens road to Plataiai; Herodotos' "way out from Kithairon *leading to Plataiai,* which the Boiotians call Three Heads, but the Athenians Oak Heads" (9,39,1). It is not natural to take it to be the Gyphtókastro or modern road pass, which, even if one descended west of the modern road, requires a left turn followed by a further hour's walk to Plataiai. Xenophon (*Hell.* 5,4,14), though he does not use the name Dryos Kephalai, supports the same view. King Kleombrotos, in winter 379/78, advanced from the Isthmus presumably by Hammond's "Road of the Towers"[14]. He found "the road through Eleutherai" held by Athenian troops under Chabrias; Athens was not yet at war, before Sphodrias' escapade, but was observing an armed neutrality. Chabrias' post at Eleutherai *must* surely have been at Gyphtókastro. Kleombrotos therefore "went up the route leading to Plataiai", keeping clear of Athenian territory. The mention here of both passes clinches the identification[15].

Hoping that Pritchett's and my own personal inspections have disposed of Grundy's Pass 3, the 996-metre col still further west, as a practical line of communication, we may then take it that Grundy's Pass 2, the most direct Athens-Plataiai route, carried in antiquity a practicable cart-road slanting down to Plataiai, and was the scene of the dramatic events of 479, 427 and winter 379/78. To visit it, the traveller must be warned that there is at present a military area bestriding Hammond's road up from Kriekouki, and that anyone using it may take some time to talk himself out of arrest. This happened a few years ago to a party from the American School who went a short way off the road to view the battlefield. Ascending from the south, from Vilia, where I was warned of the forbidden zone, one must go west for about 35 minutes on the Aigosthena road, avoiding the direct road to the north. After the conspicuous spring

[14] On which see now most conveniently his *Studies in Greek History,* 417ff.

[15] I take this opportunity to correct an error. At the top of the pass, it will be remembered, Kleombrotos' vanguard demolished a Theban outpost of 150 men, who had been released from prison in the night of Thebes' liberation. The fact that they had been given this chilly assignment makes it unlikely that they were, as I said in the Pelican *History of Greece,* 319, "political detainees"; they are not friends of the liberators, but rather malefactors, to whom the new government was giving a chance to "work their passage".

of Vasilike one can turn up the wide valley across country (easy going), presently encountering a rough cart-track. From the watershed a valley (likewise to be avoided) descends, carrying the track towards Kriekouki. For Plataiai one must descend north-west-by-west, dropping about 500 metres in five km. The head of the valley by which one ascends is not without interest; it is wide-spreading, providing ample room in which one may imagine the convoys "shut off in Kithairon" (Hdt. 9,51, end) waiting in bivouac until the Greeks withdrew to the hill-foot to cover their descent[16].

Between the north-eastward and north-westward ways down, a buttress of the mountain juts out to the north (a good viewpoint); and from some angles down in the plain east of Plataiai, the upward view towards the pass does present a skyline with "three heads": (1) the higher ground east of the pass; (2) that between Pass 2 and the high col, "Pass 3", west of it, and (3) the northward-projecting hill, masking Pass 2, between them. Conceivably such a view, perhaps accentuated when the hills were forested, might account for the Boiotian name "Three Heads"; but the triple-headed effect is not very impressive, and one might also speculate as to whether Dryos Kephalai and Treis Kephalai are different folk-etymological corruptions of some prehistoric toponym, with Greek *kephalai* added.

Two Details: Before closing this section, with its acknowledged debts to Pritchett, it seems ungracious to criticise; but I must confess that his repeated references to the "Analypsis" chapel in his sound discussion of Herodotos' "island" (repeatedly on pp. 116; 118) is a worrying solecism. *Analēpsis,* "taking up", i. e. the Ascension, is a common Greek church-dedication, and the third syllable contains an E, as in our derivatives epilepsy, catalepsy. In the current official transliteration of modern Greek, *eta* is represented by "I", for distinction from "E", *epsilon;* and this rendering appears in Pritchett's map, p. 117. But imperfectly literate Greeks have a curious penchant for considering it "cute" to use "Y", *ŭpsilon,* one of the half-dozen vowels and diphthongs that have come to have the same "ee" sound, even when it is wrong. "Analypsis", in short, is a mere Greek mis-spelling.

Pritchett also suggests identifying the sanctuary of Demeter, the evidence for which he cites, west of the Pantánassa ridge, with that men-

[16] This feature of the landscape does not appear in the otherwise useful sketch-map of C. N. Edmonson, *JHS* 84, 1964, 153.

tioned by Plutarch (*Aristeides* 11,6) and Herodotos (9,57,2) "near the Moloeis stream [Grundy's A6 ?] and the ground called Argiopion" (unidentifiable), round which the Spartans' battle raged; though he duly notes that this is well over Herodotos' "ten stades" from the previous Spartan position near the springs. It is also rather far from Herodotos' "island" – a geological anomaly, which conceivably might have existed, for a few years only, among the still rapidly shifting headwaters of the Oëroë. Since Pausanias expressly mentions a Plataian sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia *as well as* that near Hysiai (9,4,2, and 3), it is surely not "sprinkling hypothetical temples all over the landscape" if one prefers the former. The battle was, after all, always called the battle of Plataiai.

3. Thermopylai Revisited

I had long wished to supplement my explorations of the mountains behind Thermopylai by traversing the entire range from end to end, from the west of Trachis, where as I suppose the Persian outflanking column ascended, to east of its most probable line of descent. An opportunity offered itself in 1974, when I took three days over it, spending the nights at Vardhatés, through the hospitality of Mr Yannis Zangoyannis, secretary of the Commune, at the Damásta monastery and at Mendhenítsa at the east end of the Kallidromos range. At the west end, M. Jean Michaud of the French School pointed out to me by a message left with Mr Zangoyannis (I unfortunately did not meet M. Michaud) that the best ascent is not directly from the modern village, which is possible but steep, but by an easier gradient rising from the plain some 2.5 km to the north-west, near the road and rail bridges over the Gorgopotamos (the Dyras of Hdt. 7,198). It is now used by a class 2 motor-road; and one may guess that there was a serviceable road in antiquity, from Antikyra to the Oitaians' villages. Though further from Thermopylai, the foot of this ascent is very little further from the point where the steep path from Vardhatés joins the road, near the village of Dhyo Vouna; and one may imagine Hydarnes' men being given rest and food near the foot of the hills during the day, out of sight from Thermopylai, before setting out on their strenuous night march.

What the guide Ephialtes had to show his masters was not the existence of a route leading east on top of the mountains, which was locally common knowledge (Hdt. 7,175), but exactly where to turn east. Somewhere they had to cross the Asopos and climb to reach the easy

ground between the two crests of Kallidromos, from which in Herodotos' time, as he says (7,216) "the mountain and the path have the same name, Anopaia".

This ascent, by whatever route, must have been the toughest part of the march. The elongated plain on top of the mountain, called Nevropolis, drained by a slowly-flowing and meandering tributary of the Asopos, stands at over 1000 metres; and the Asopos, even at the top of the amphitheatre above the gorge, where the stream from south-west receives the tributary, is today at little over 200. By whatever route, even if going round behind the rock of the Kastro tēs Oraias at the head of the amphitheatre, the Persians, after crossing the col which connects the Trachinian Cliffs to Mount Oita (cf. Hdt. 7,217), at just over 600 m, would have had today to drop nearly 400 to the stream, before climbing 800 in about 6 km to the nearly level ground. None of this is precipitous, but the part below the modern highway is very steep, 1 in 3 or 4. No wonder that the men's feet were shuffling when, in the grey dawn, the Phokians heard them!

There is one circumstance that may, in 480 B. C., have reduced the height of this climb. There has undoubtedly been some erosion, especially in recent times, since the destruction of the oak forest, of which little remains. The alluvium, which has pushed back the sea-shore over two miles from the base of the cliffs at Thermopylai and twice as far from the ancient mouth of the Spercheios, has mostly no doubt been brought down by the Spercheios itself; but some has come from the south, and some of that has been brought down by the Asopos, which fills the bottom of the gorge with a noisy torrent in the rainy season. The upper course of the Asopos must have run at a higher level, and the amphitheatre above the gorge have been shallower, nearly 2500 years ago; but by how much? This, it would require a geologist even to estimate; but I would incline to think that the change in contour has not been sensational. The grassy surface of the amphitheatre today does not look as if denudation was proceeding rapidly, even after the deforestation; and the torrent drops only about 200 metres in 4 km, from the confluence to its exit from the gorge, little above sea-level. The less the gradient, the less the erosion. Ten miles over wooded hills, with at least *nearly* 1400 metres of ascent, in about ten hours of the Greek August night, was not bad going, as the soldier Xenophon would have reminded us, "for an army".

What sort of paths did they have? Ephialtes clearly knew exactly where to go, even at night; so he must have gone that way before, at least several

times. The extraordinary ease of the going on top of the mountain, once reached, and the "sinister potentialities of that path", Herodotos comments (7,215), had long been known to the Malians. As far as the first col, west of the Trachinian Cliffs, there may as I suggested, even have been a *hamaxitos,* a cart-track; but down to the Asopos and up the steeps on the east side, this seems impossible. The modern class 2 road, from Dhyo Vouna to the main road near Bralo, makes a loop of over 20 km right round the head of the Asopos basin, whereas a bee-line across it above the gorge is six or seven. We must imagine a mere *atrapos,* by which men and mules could make the laborious crossing and climb to Nevropolis; after which it is easy going along the top, right into Lokris.

One path, with a good guide, was enough to mark the right way; but such a *monopati,* as modern Greeks call it, would take only men in single file, and single file, for a force of thousands of men, is useless. We have to imagine the Immortals scrambling up from the Asopos on as broad a front as possible (100 men, slightly extended?), with each leader instructed not to lose touch with the next man towards the centre. On this steep slope the Olympic full moon, late in the night, would penetrate the trees with more light than elsewhere; and oak forest does not permit the growth of the cross-country pedestrian's worst enemy, scrub. Still, among tree-roots and the occasional jutting rock, it was a heroic night climb, comparable to that of Wolfe's 3600 men at Québec from "Wolfe's Cove" to the Plains of Abraham. They ascended, moreover, in silence; not that any man would have had breath for conversation; but if there had been even a few barked orders as, in the first light of dawn, they reached Nevropolis, the Phokians would not have been first alerted by the rustling of the fallen leaves. The disciplined movement of the Immortals, to get there by any route, remains impressive.

The Descent: The "peak of the mountain", to which the Phokians retired before the arrows of the Persians, has often been identified with the conspicuous rock pyramid at the east end of the Nevropolis plain, rising above a small lake, dry in summer. Today, this pyramid presents a rocky scramble, during which the climbers would present an ideal target for archery; and even if in those days it carried soil and trees, it looks too steep for a hasty retreat in armor. I would sooner guess that their "keep" was on Lithitsa, the northern ridge of Kallidromos, which rises gently from Nevropolis. Here they would overlook the approaches from the north, such as the Chalkomata path, from the top of a series of broken cliffs, requiring climbing in places (I have done it, but it is not a practical

military proposition), and be in a position to reinforce the pickets, which they presumably maintained on the two practicable routes, which by-pass the cliffs at either end.

But the pyramid is a useful landmark for finding two approaches to the descent leading to Alpenoi, sometimes supposed to use the valley descending by the village of Dhrakospilia ("Dragon's Cave"). This village has now moved to lower ground, like many in the Greek mountains, and been renamed Thermopýlai. The way that seems to be indicated on many maps bears left of the pyramid, crosses a flattish-topped shoulder of Zastani, the great crag that descends precipitously to Thermopylai, passing the site of a still earlier Old Dhrakospilia, and drops down a gulley into the larger valley that opens immediately behind the Middle Gate, the battlefield.

This is the shortest route, but emphatically not a good one for a body of troops. The path is steep, rocky and awkward, though it may have been better before all soil was washed off it; and the side of the gulley is narrow. There is a slightly longer but much better descent, by which Vanderpool, driving a jeep, having ascended from the west at Elevtherochori (I have done this in an ordinary car, but it is possible only because there is a wood-cutters' lorry road), went the length of Nevropolis (no difficulty) and, passing Old Dhrakospilia, descended by another wood-cutters' road to the main coast road. A slope that permits the construction of a rough, rustic road would, as Pritchett, who accompanied Vanderpool, has written, be a much more promising route for an army, even without this modern aid[17]. Moreover this route descends east of the wide valley, and arrives not at the Middle Gate but a couple of miles east of it, near a detached hill which may well have been the site of Alpenos or Alpenoi; the village in rear of Leonidas' position, which the Greeks were using as a supply-base. This village was "the first in Lokris" coming from the west, and it was "close to" (not on) the coast road; and it was here, and not right at the Middle Gate, that Herodotos says the outflanking route emerged (7,216, cf. 176,2 and 5). I am sure Pritchett is right here, but I believe there is still a better way, in the absence of the modern roads, to reach the top of the descent. If one passes to *south* of the rock pyramid, one finds the Nevropolis greensward continuing, due east again, for some distance. One then crosses a col, rising only a few metres, but the

[17] See Pritchett's important article (which I used in *Persia and the Greeks*) in *AJA* 62, 1958, 211ff.

east-west watershed, and goes east again on a cart-track, on the north side of the ridge running east from the pyramid. This part of the mountain is called Elatovouni, "Fir Mountain", and is the place where the remains of oak forest give place to conifers. Soon one emerges from the trees into another elongated mountain plain, resembling Nevropolis, but much longer, dropping gently to the east; and by way of it, turning north very shortly at a peculiar, deeply pitted rock, one can reach the top of what I take to be Vanderpool's way down, over naturally easy ground all the way. The rock is called Petra tou Engonou or "Rock of the Grandchild"; but some shepherds, whom I asked about it, did not know why, or were shy of telling a foreigner; Greek country people today are sometimes embarrassed about the folklore of their ancestors. (Had it something to do with the Dragon?)

Of this end of Hydarnes' route we now have what has long been wanted: an air photograph. The Greek services, long suspicious of such activity by foreigners, have now relaxed; and the Greek Air Force even made aircraft available for the production of *Ancient Greece from the Air*, by Professor R. V. Schoder, S. J.[18]. In this work the photograph of Thermopylai is on p. 214, showing the Mound of the last stand at bottom, centre, while the spur carrying the remains of the Phokian Wall, the main line of defence (not marked on the outline key-sketch) slants up to the right from close to it. The part of Kallidromos forming the main skyline is Zastani, while the ridge leading east to the highest part of the mountain (irrelevant to the battle) begins at the top, left. Between them, near top, left, can just be seen an indication of the easy going on the east-west high-level route between the parallel ridges. The shortest way from Old Dhrakospilia and Nevropolis (hidden behind Zastani) can be seen; the shoulder of Zastani, mentioned above, shows as a yellow patch (it carries dry grass and thistles, not green scrub), and from it a gulley descends to the left, to join the larger gulley which opens behind the Mound. This wide gulley is curiously labelled in the Key, "Middle Pass". The whole of the ancient main route, including the West, Middle and East narrow places mentioned

[18] London & New York, 1974. The 140 colored air-photographs, with key-plans, of classical und prehistoric sites, make this a most valuable work. Unfortunately it must be added that the letter-press is in places erratic; the history needs to be checked. E. g., on Plataiai (illustrating the city, not the area of operations in 479) it is stated that in 427 "most of its citizens" were "slaughtered"; whereas Thucydides tells us that non-combatants had been evacuated to Athens before the siege, and half the garrison had escaped in the famous sortie. Only 200 Plataians remained to be captured and put to death.

by Herodotos (7,176,2) lay along the coast. Neither for civil nor military traffic, having got so far, was there any point in mounting, still to 1000 metres, in order to descend again steeply at the east end of the range.

The Immortals, we saw, had taken ten hours by night to make the circuit and ascent to where they encountered the Phokians. Ephialtes had advised Xerxes that the whole march would take from nightfall till mid-morning; "for the descent is much shorter than the way round and up"[19]. Xerxes accordingly waited till "the time when the market is full" before launching his attack; perhaps ten or even nine o'clock; Greeks are early risers. Hydarnes was, in fact, late; the battle had been in progress for some time, before he and his men, delayed inevitably by waiting for the rear of the column to close up, arrived to put an end to the Greeks' heroic struggle. They had taken four or five hours from where they brushed past the Phokians, down to Alpenos. The distance, if *not* using the bad short cut, would have been some twelve km, plus perhaps two to the battlefield; and the time, though an active individual could reduce it without running, was once again creditable "for an army".

I have nothing new to add on later campaigns on this famous ground. The topography, with which I am concerned, remains the same. Philip in 339 went up by the route west of Trachis, and south into Doris and Phokis. Brennos the Gaul ascended by the same route "through the Ainianian country" (Pausanias 10,22,5); the Ainianes included the Oitaioi, and occupied the Spercheios valley almost to Herakleia (Strabon 9, C. 427 and C. 433). Thence he turned east "by the route by which Hydarnes the Persian took Leonidas' Greeks in the rear" (Paus. l. c.; this is Pausanias' only reference to Hydarnes' march, and confirms Herodotos). Cato in 191 may have stormed the Kallidromos fort, after much blundering about in the night when the guide, a prisoner of war, lost his way, by way of the Damasta spur; there were only 600 Aitolians holding it. Neither Livy (36,16ff.) nor Plutarch (*Cato the Elder* 13) gives any useful topographical indications. But in each case it is clearly the ease of movement along the top which meant that, once the high-level route was reached anywhere, the pass along the coast was turned.

[19] Hdt. 7,223,1; it is this passage that, even more than the detail about passing between "the mountains of the Oitaians" and "the mountains of the Trachinians", is fatal to any theory that Hydarnes advanced straight up the Damasta slopes – even though I did long ago hold that theory myself.

4. The Franks at Boudonitsa

By way of appendix, however, one may mention a point showing appreciation of the military topography of Kallidromos in the Middle Ages, which so far as I know has not been made before.

In 1205 Boniface of Montferrat, one of the principal predators of the Fourth Crusade, who had received the shortlived Kingdom of Thessalonica, created a Mark or frontier fief in this strategically important district. Marquis, Markgraf, was no merely ornamental title. The Marquis was to keep the frontier south of the Spercheios against enemies, such as the Greek Despots of Epeiros in the north-west, or infiltrating Vlachs or Slavs. Until 1311 the post was held by the Pallavicini family, who outlasted both the Kingdom of Thessalonica and the Latin Empire; thereafter they relied for support on the Princes of the Morea or the Dukes of Athens. The last of them fell, with most of the chivalry of Athens and Thebes, before the Catalan Company. Under the Catalans the lordship fell to the house of Zorzi (a Venetian form of the name George), who in 1335 transferred their allegiance to the Venetians in occupation of Negroponte (['s-to]n Evripon, i. e. Euboia). Their castle, Boudonitsa, now Mendhenitsa, fell only to the Turks in 1410.

But why Boudonitsa? On the map, eight km from the sea, at a height of 500 metres and only two km due north of the easternmost peak of Kallidromos, which gives it an early winter sunset, it looks out-of-the-way and inconvenient. On the spot one can see that it was, in the conditions of its time, strategically a beautifully chosen site.

From Elatovouni[20] and the Petra tou Engonou the intermontane plain or wide, grassy valley descends very gently for another 2.5 km. Gentle slopes rise to the north, while to the south the wooded ridge of Saromatas, the highest part of Kallidromos, towers higher and higher, culminating at over 1370 m. Then the descent steepens; the trickle of water from the plain becomes a picturesque torrent, and in five more km as the crow flies – seven or eight as the modern wood-cutters' and shepherds' mule-track zigzags – one drops from 1000 m to 500, trending north-east with the stream. One emerges into a modern macadam road, turns right and in two more km, rounding a buttress of the hills, reaches the castle and village, now called Mendhenitsa. A central *donjon,* which would also serve the

[20] One edition of the Staff map reads Elaphovouni, "Hart Fell"; this is picturesque, but Elatovouni sounds more probable.

purpose of a look-out tower, is surrounded by a baily with a circuit-wall standing on ancient foundations; the *donjon* also contains many ancient blocks, strengthening the inferior mediaeval masonry. This was probably the acropolis of ancient Pharygai (Strabon 9, C. 426), which claimed to be the Tarphe of Homer's catalogue of ships. Mendhenitsa is also the junction of another mountain road, *à peine carrossable,* as the old *Guide bleu* would say, leading west of south to cross the Saromatas by a pass at just under 1000 m – only 450 m above the village – between the summits at 1372 and 1133. By it one can reach the Kephisos valley in Phokis in three hours without haste.

Boudonitsa Castle thus turns out to be in a perfect situation for its purpose. Its garrison was in a position to block the exits from Kallidromos against infiltrators by the high-level routes; it overlooks, at a distance of half-an-hour's downhill ride, a long stretch of the coast road; and it has easy communication with the Kephisos valley, down which Frankish towers, several of which remain, perched on the foothills, could transmit signals to Thebes. Its patrols could even, after perhaps leading their horses up the steeper parts of the ascent, *ride* with ease the whole length of the high-level route, to the top of the western steeps above the Asopos. The long survival of the marquisate indicates that it served a wider purpose, in addition to allowing the reigning marquis to "live like a lord".

These hills have often enough echoed to the sounds of battle. At peace, they are of great beauty. At intervals one may encounter friendly shepherds and unfriendly sheep-dogs; but if boldly met they make no serious attempt to close. Nightingales still sing in what remains of the forest. Otherwise there is silence:

εὕδουσιν δ'ὀρέων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες
πρώονές τε καί χάραδραι . . . .

Long may it remain so.

JOHN CHADWICK

The Ionian Name

One of the characteristics of the great contribution Fritz Schachermeyr has made to the study of prehistoric Greece is his awareness of the importance of linguistics in this field, for he has in his work always given prominence to the evidence which the study of the Greek language can provide. I hope therefore that a linguist may offer a small tribute to his achievements in the form of a note designed to clear up a misconception with an important bearing on the reconstruction of Greek prehistory.

Most of us were brought up to believe that there were in Greek two different ethnic terms, both of which might be rendered as 'Ionian' in English and corresponding names in other languages. In their adjectival forms these are Ἰώνιος and Ἴόνιος. The first is most familiar in the substantivized feminine Ἰωνία or Ἰωνίη and with its derivatives and the ethnic term Ἴωνες refers to the area of the 'Ionic' *dodecapolis* and its inhabitants; we may call this the eastern term. The second was used in antiquity to qualify πόντος or κόλπος, referring to the waters which separate north-western Greece and Albania from southern Italy; in modern use, frequently of the Ionian islands, the group whose principal members are Kérkira, Levkás, Itháki, Kephalleniá and Zákinthos. We may call this the western term.

But it appears that certain writers treat the two terms as if they were one and the same, and draw inferences from this fact about the prehistoric movements of the Hellenic peoples. If the terms are really of common origin, these inferences are of great importance; if, on the other hand, there is no reason to suppose they are connected, the inferences must be abandoned.

Nowhere has this position been more explicitly taken than by N. G. L. Hammond. Speaking about the western Ἴόνιος he writes: "It was significantly a Greek name, unlike the word 'Adriatic'"[1]. I do not under-

[1] N. G. L. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History*, 1973, 31.

stand this remark; in what sense is Ἰόνιος a Greek name, other than by its adjectival formation and its use in Greek? I do not know what it means. The ancients certainly associated it with Ἰώ (Aesch. *P. V.* 840), but Chantraine[2] prudently assigns no etymology. It has been suggested that Ἀδρίας is of Italian origin; but I do not see how it is any less Greek than Ἰόνιος.

Hammond then proceeds to show that Zeus, Kronos and Rhea all had associations in legend with north-western Greece, though Zeus' connexion is mainly through the oracle of Dodona. This fact is used to infer an intimate connexion between the Hellenes and 'Ionian'[3]. He then turns to the account of Greek prehistory given by Herodotus, and recites the passages in which "Iones" [*sic*] are said to have lived formerly not only in Attica, but in Boeotia and parts of the Peloponnese[4]. There is not so much as a hint that "Ionian" is Ἰόνιος, but the people are Ἴωνες. By page 35 we are told by Hammond that "Leucas, Albania and south-western Macedonia" were the homeland of the Ionic group of Greek dialects. The suggestion that the Ἴωνες entered Greece by way of the Ἰόνιος κόλπος is one which must be closely scrutinized.

It need hardly be said that there is no historical warrant for placing Ἴωνες in north-western Greece; nor is there any archaeological evidence to prove this origin for the ancestors of the inhabitants of classical Ionia. The deduction is a linguistic one and must be tested linguistically. At first sight the two names, excluding termination, each consists of three phonemes; of these one is the same in both (ν); the other two are both different, since not only is ο opposed to ω, but also ῑ to ῐ. This is not encouraging to those who want to treat the terms as identical.

It is generally believed that Ἴωνες is a later replacement of Ἰάονες, the term employed in the *Iliad* (13,685), though this passage has been of course suspected of being an interpolation. This is confirmed by the name by which the Greeks as a whole, not the Ionians only, were known to the Persians, Hebrews and other Near Eastern peoples; forms such as Hebrew *Yāwan* show that it was borrowed from a Greek *Ἰάϝονες, and from a dialect which had not yet lost the intervocalic *digamma*. Since its loss is evident in the earliest Ionic inscriptions, it was either borrowed before the 8th century B. C. or from a non-Ionic dialect; Cypriot for example maintained the *digamma* intact at least until the end of the 5th century.

[2] *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 475.
[3] Hammond, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 32.
[4] *op. cit.*, 33.

It is, however, impossible to derive Ionic Ἴωνες from *Ἰάϝονες; Attic would have yielded *Ἰῶνες, Ionic *Ἰέωνες by way of Ἰήονες, a form for which there is some evidence[5]. Whatever the mechanism, it would seem that Ἴωνες is a new formation associated with the personal name Ἴων.

The source of the idea that Ἴωνες and Ἰόνιος have a common origin appears to be an article by H. Jacobsohn published in 1930[6]. He had earlier suggested that the ethnics in -ᾶνες which are common in north-west Greece were due to a contraction of the common type of man's name in -άϝων. Ἴωνες is proved by the Homeric and comparative evidence to be derived from *Ἰάϝονες. Therefore Ἴωνες in fact belongs to the group of ethnics in -ᾶνες, and this is confirmed by the form Ἰάνων used by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 1025)[7]. Now it is true that in West Greek dialects and Arcadian ᾱο or ᾱω contract to ᾱ, not to ω as in Attic. But there is a flaw in Jacobsohn's argument that has been revealed by the discovery of Mycenaean Greek. Although, e. g., Ἀκαρνᾶνες might be for *Ἀκαρνάϝονες (cf. Ἀλκμάν from Ἀλκμάων), it could equally continue a type in original *-*ānes*. The existence of such ethnics has been proved by Mycenaean Greek, where loss of *digamma* and vowel contraction are both unknown; place names on the Pylos tablets such as *pa-ki-ja-ne* with its variant form *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*, from an adjectival *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo* used as a month name, prove the existence at this date of a formant *-ānes*. And indeed the same inference can be made from ethnics such as Ἕλλᾶνες, where the Attic Ἕλληνες proves that it is not a contraction of *Ἑλλάϝονες. It is surely more likely that this *-*ānes* is related to the well-attested suffix of place names in *-ānā*, found in names like Μεσσάνα (Μεσσήνη), Ἀθῆναι, Μυκῆναι, etc. Since this is generally admitted to be non-Greek, it follows that the same is true of ethnics in -ανες, including, remarkable as it may seem, the name the Greeks used of themselves.

At least it is clear that Jacobsohn's argument can no longer be accepted, and there is no reason whatever to associate Ἴωνες or Ἰάονες with north-west Greece or the Dorians. Personal names in -άϝων seem to have been common in Mycenaean Greece[8], and two fragments from Knossos (B 164.4; Xd 146.4) give us the reading *i-ja-wo-ne*[, but without

[5] Callimachus fr. 7,29 (Pfeiffer); Ἰηονίη· *Anth. Pal.* 16,295,2.

[6] *KZ* 57,76–117.

[7] Page reads Ἰαόνων in line 1011; the alleged Ἰάνων in lines 950f. is also rejected.

[8] O. Landau, *Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958, 185f.

sufficient context to show whether it is nominative plural of the ethnic or dative singular of a personal name, if indeed it is complete. But the evidence of Near Eastern languages strongly suggests that a group of the Mycenaean inhabitants of Greece called themselves Ἰάϝονες, and as in the case of Γραικοί the name was applied to the Greeks as a whole. This cannot be connected with Ἰόνιος (— ∪ ∪ ∪) unless some explanation can be provided to account for the long ῑ.

It is worth repeating, since the lesson is still being ignored, my argument about the meaning of the term Ἴωνες, when used by Herodotus to refer to prehistoric times[9]. This can only mean that the Ionians of Herodotus' own day claimed to be descended from ancestors who originally came from Attica, Boeotia or the northern Peloponnese. Such claims are neither more nor less valid than those of present-day Americans to be descended from the Englishmen who sailed on the 'Mayflower'. But no one deduces from the current speech of New England that this was the 17th century dialect of England. It is patently absurd to treat Herodotus' evidence that Ἴωνες lived in the Peloponnese as proving that the Ionic dialect of his time had once been spoken in the Peloponnese. All Herodotus implies is that some pre-migration inhabitants of the Peloponnese called themselves Ἴωνες or an earlier form of the name; he says nothing about their speech. It is therefore strange that Hammond should continue to reject the very clear indications that the Ionic dialect, as known to us from alphabetic inscriptions, was a creation of the post-Mycenaean convulsions of the Greek people. Historical sources must be treated with great reserve when they purport to describe facts many centuries before their time, unless they can be verified by archaeological or linguistic studies; at least, they must not be interpreted as saying something which they plainly do not. Herodotus had no means of knowing anything of the Greek language before the introduction of the alphabet.

[9] *Cambridge Ancient History* 2³,2,814.

J. Walter Graham

Bathrooms and Lustral Chambers

"The question should not (be) whether these rooms were 'bathrooms *or* lustral chambers', for they were both at once, though the relative emphasis doubtless varied in the individual instances[1]." This was the general conclusion I put forward in 1962 with respect to the small rooms frequently found in Minoan palaces and houses, usually some two to three metres square, and characterized by sunken floors to which several steps descended from an adjacent larger room. In order to have a brief and neutral term by which to refer to the score or more of these low-level chambers or basins, occurring usually in the residential quarters, I shall speak of them in this paper as the BR/LBs, i. e. the bath-rooms and/or lustral basins.

Let me say at the outset that it is still my opinion that most of the BR/LBs formed part of what are usually referred to as the women's apartments, and that most of them were used for ordinary washing or bathing, though this might often, if not always, be accompanied to a greater or less degree by an awareness that it was at the same time a religious act involving a purification of the soul as well as of the body. On the other hand, in perhaps as many as five instances, where the room was larger, deeper, more elaborate architecturally, and sometimes included the display of religious symbols such as the double-axe, the BR/LB may appear to have functioned primarily, or even exclusively, as a place for the ritual performance of an act of lustration or of some related form of religious ritual involving the use of a liquid cleansing agent[2]. Between

[1] Abbreviations: *Europa* = N. Platon, "Bathrooms and Lustral Basins in Minoan Dwellings", in: *Europa; Festschrift E. Grumach. Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Ägäis*, ed. W. C. Brice, 1967, 236–245. – *KCh* = S. Alexiou, "About the Minoan 'Lustral Chambers'", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 24, 1972, 414–434. – *PoC* = J. W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, 1962 (repr. with *Addenda* 1969). – *PoM* = A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 1929–1936 (repr. 1964).
The quote is from *PoC* 108.

[2] The two most outstanding examples, architecturally, are the North Lustral Chamber and the Lustral Chamber off the Room of the Throne, both at Knossos (*PoM* 1, 405ff. and 4,907f.).

these two extremes of usage the relative degree of emphasis – practical or religious – might vary widely in the specific case. A wide variation may also have occurred in the amount and nature of the purifying agent employed. Near Eastern analogies would suggest water, whether sanctified or not, as the most likely or most common liquid to be so employed, though in the Aegean area a perfumed unguent is another distinct possibility. In view of our profound ignorance of the details of Minoan religious ceremonial it would be unwise to attempt to be more specific on these points[3].

Although my conclusions, as expressed in the *Palaces of Crete* (99–108), have received considerable approval as a reasonable interpretation of the available evidence, nevertheless, partly as a result of new facts brought to light in the excavation of the recently discovered palace at Kato Zakro, two eminent specialists in Minoan archaeology have raised a number of questions regarding certain details of my interpretations, namely Prof. Nikolaos Platon, former Ephor of Cretan Antiquities, and Dr Stylianos Alexiou, the present ephor[4]. Some of their contentions have been anticipated in my study mentioned above, and to it the reader is referred for further details.

I shall discuss first the points raised by Platon since we are, I am happy to say, in essential agreement on most matters, such as the identification and function of most of the BR/LBs, the possible use in them of clay bathtubs (but on this see below), and the raising of the floor-level in several of these rooms to the level of the adjacent room without change of their function – an alteration dated to the late Middle Minoan or early Late Minoan period.

Our agreement is complete, I believe, on the interpretation of a crucial example of the BR/LB in the Residential Quarter east of the Central Court at Knossos (Fig. 1). A broad stairway (the "Grand Staircase") descends from the Central Court to the main (i. e. lowest) floor of the Residential Quarter (Evans' "Domestic Quarter"), and from a long East-West Corridor one turns south at right angles into ABC, the Men's or King's Hall (Evans' "Hall of the Double Axes"), which is provided with a typical Cretan light-well (or ventilation-shaft), C, and with several "pier-and-door partitions" leading out to an exterior portico, H, with a fine view of the valley below. Near the south-west corner of B a door opens at right

[3] *KCh* 425f.
[4] See both *Europa* and *KCh*.

angles into a corridor, D, at whose end another door opens, again at right angles, into a smaller room, E, which has generally been referred to as the Women's or Queen's Hall (Evans' "Queen's Megaron"). Off this room, to the west, opens a small room, F, with a parapet supporting a small column[5], which is commonly identified as a bathroom, following Evans, who himself did so chiefly because of the size and shape of the room and because a decorated clay bathtub was found in fragments not far away in Ea[6]. Finally, from E another long corridor leads westward to a room containing a toilet, G.

Turning next to the palace at Phaistos we proceed to the peristyle (74) in the northern part of the building. From this we descend a flight of stairs (Fig. 2) to an East-West Corridor (76) and turn north at right angles into the King's Hall, ABC (79, 77, 78), equipped with a light-well, C, pier-and-door partitions, and an exterior portico, H (85). Near the south-west corner of the King's Hall, A, a door opens at right angles into a corridor, D (80), at whose north end another door opens at right angles into a smaller room, E (81), which has generally been called the Women's or Queen's Hall. Off this, to the south, steps lead down past a parapet with column-base to F (83), a BR/LB; beyond E to the west are two small rooms (82) in the northern one of which are the remains of what appears to be a latrine, G[7].

At Mallia a similar arrangement of similar rooms is to be seen in the north-western area of the palace (Fig. 3). Unessential points of difference are that there is no terracing and no stairway descending to the Residential Quarters since the palace is built on level ground; likewise the rooms are

[5] As the room now appears there is no low-level floor and no stairway down (but see below with n. 42).

[6] For general account see *PoM* 1,325–359; 3,282–390; and *PoC* 84–88. There seems a slight discrepancy as to where the tub fragments were found. Unfortunately Mackenzie does not mention them in his daybooks. The earliest mention seems to be *BSA* 8,1901/02,54, "considerable remains of a large painted terracotta bath were found in the portico of the neighbouring hall, having doubtless been turned out when the bath-chamber was used as a lime-store"; from the context this clearly means the "portico", Ea, – better, the "corridor" – between the Queen's Hall (Queen's "Megaron"), E, and the eastern light-well, Eb. However, in the final publication (*PoM* 3, 385) the tub fragments are said to have been found "by its entrance and in the adjoining section of the 'Megaron'", by which are meant the entrance to the bathroom, F, and the Queen's Hall, E. Considering Evans' tendency in his later writings, particularly in the *Palace of Minos*, to improve on the evidence of excavation I think we must choose the earlier provenience, i. e. the one given in *BSA* 8,1901/02,54, even though it is slightly less favourable to our argument; in any case there is no other suitable room anywhere nearby for the tub to have been used in.

[7] L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs*, 2, 1951, 254–304; *PoC* 89f.

less well decorated, in line with the generally greater simplicity of the palace. Readily identifiable components of the Residential Quarter are the King's Hall, AB (III 7), with light-well, C; pier-and-door partitions; an exterior portico, H; a corridor, D, connecting the King's Hall with the Queen's Hall, E (III 1); a BR/LB, F (III 9) with sunken floor entered by steps down from E; and probably a toilet in G (III 2)[8].

The similarities in general plan and even in detail among the rooms of the Residential Quarter, ABCDEFGH, in all three main palaces, Knossos, Phaistos, and Mallia, are, as we have seen, so consistent and so nearly identical that one would think it could be taken to be virtually axiomatic that however the function of each of the principal elements were to be identified their function individually would have to be regarded as the same in all three palaces[9], that is, if E is the "Women's Hall" in any one of the three then it is the "Women's Hall" in all three. In spite of this Platon calls E at Knossos the Queen's Hall, while at Phaistos and Mallia he describes E as the "Anteroom to the Bath[10]". The Queen's Hall at the latter two sites he locates elsewhere, as we shall see.

Although Platon concedes, in his article on "Bathrooms and Lustral Basins in Minoan Dwellings", that my "opinions are basically right", he attributes our remaining points of difference to my "bias to one side"[11]. But I would suggest the possibility that they may rather be the result of his own arbitrary definition of what constitutes the indispensable characteristics of the Minoan "main living-rooms", i. e. a definition intended to cover both Men's and Women's Halls, ABC and E. They are, he asserts, "recognizable by their tiers of doors (his term for pier-and-door partitions), light-wells, and sometimes by their external colonnades" together with "a characteristic room provided with a descending staircase separated by a parapet ending in a pillar carrying a column" (i. e. a BR/LB)[12]. Platon further declares that I "misjudge the character of the chambers outside the bathrooms", and that I am wrong in locating "in two main cases (he

[8] F. Chapouthier and P. Demargne, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia*, 4, 1962, 32–36; *PoC* 91.

[9] In general see J. W. Graham, *AJA* 63, 1959, 47–52.

[10] *Europa* 238. The application of the term "antechamber" to room E seems to stem from the first French preliminary report by Chapouthier and J. Charbonneaux, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia*, 1, 1928, 13, where it is described as a "sorte d'antichambre . . . au petit sanctuaire III4", i. e. F. Similarly, in early accounts, the Room of the Throne at Knossos was referred to as the antechamber to the bath.

[11] *Europa* 238.

[12] *Europa* 238.

means Mallia and Phaistos) the women's royal apartment there"[13]. This might be granted *if* all the features which he attributes to both Men's and Women's Halls were really to be considered essential to their identification; personally I do not find them essential, and Platon gives no reasons why they must be so accepted. I would, on the contrary, see the decisive evidence for determining the function of E in the extraordinary similarity of this room in all three palaces. The essentially identical features are the following: 1) each is reached from the Men's Hall (A or B) by a narrow corridor, D, with a door at each end (the presence of an actual door is certain at Knossos and Phaistos); 2) the dimensions of E (excluding the light-wells at Knossos) are similar, absolutely, to each other, and relatively to the dimensions of AB in each case; 3) the character and quality of E, as indicated by the surviving remains, especially in regard to the flooring and the wall-facing, were similar to those of ABC, and quite superior to those of other nearby rooms; 4) in each case a BR/LB opens off one side of E[14], and its decorative quality and character is also in harmony with that of E and AB in the same suite.

This remarkable coincidence of characteristics indicates to me that E performed the same function in the three palaces. Yet Platon identifies E at Knossos as the Women's or Queen's Hall while disqualifying E at Phaistos and Mallia on the grounds that they contain no light-wells or pier-and-door partitions[15], and demoting them to the position of "Anterooms of the Bath". Moreover he clearly regards this as signifying not a mere difference of name but denoting a real difference in function for he proceeds to identify the rooms which properly (in his opinion) constitute, at Phaistos and Mallia, the Queen's Halls.

Let us examine Platon's candidates to see how well they meet his own specifications.

At Mallia, as we have seen, I would consider E as the Queen's Hall, with F as the bathroom. Rejecting this, Platon sees as the Queen's Hall GJK, a series of rooms or spaces immediately to the west of EF, and within the bounds of GJ he claims to be able to recognize a light-well and an external portico, which form part of what "evidently was the Queen's

[13] *Europa* 238 n. 9.

[14] The BR/LB in the Residential Quarter at Knossos is an apparent exception since it has no steps down and no lower floor (but see below).

[15] Note that the rooms at Mallia and Phaistos opened directly on the north portico and so did not have the same need for extra lighting as E at Knossos did.

apartment, communicating immediately with that of the king"[16]. It is unfortunate that Platon has not been a little more specific for as it stands this identification is very puzzling in a number of ways: 1) I find it impossible to recognize any sign of a typical Cretan light-well in the area GJK; 2) there seems to be no suitable space for the Queen's Hall itself; 3) there is certainly no direct connection (*pace* Platon) between GJK and the King's Hall, ABC, for rooms EFD lie directly between; 4) there are no pier-and-door partitions; 5) the bathroom, F, opens off E, not off any part of GJK; 6) the "external portico" presumably would be the space west of G, i. e. K, bounded on the west by two column bases – but the Mallia publication seems correct in reporting of area K that it was "en dehors des limites du palais"; that it was "à un niveau inférieur (0 m. 90 envir.)", i. e. below the level of G; and that it was "antérieur au dernier état du palais"[17]. Aside from these objections in detail to Platon's identifications there is no resemblance whatever in general plan between the confused and poorly preserved area GJK and the area of the Queen's Hall at Knossos, E, Ea, Eb, Ec, which must be his touchstone of comparison.

Clearly Platon's recognition of the Women's Quarters at Mallia is far from self-evident, and it is clear too that he must have been induced to propose such an identification in order that he might find at Mallia a pattern conforming to what at Phaistos he believed he could recognize as the Women's Quarters. And, to be sure, he can present a more reasonable case at Phaistos than at Mallia, for at Phaistos he locates the Women's Quarters in LMN (50) which, he says, "is paralleled in the Queen's Hall of the Palace of Knossos"[18]. For all that, I believe that the resemblance in plan he postulates is more apparent than real, for the following reasons: 1) there are no "tiers of doors" at Phaistos but rather four columns flanking

[16] *Europa* 238 n. 9. Platon has been misled, it seems, by a remark in the French publication, "la liaison étroite du 'mégaron' et du 'bain' n'est connue qu'ici dans le palais de Mallia" (*op. cit.* [n. 8], 35 n. 1). EF are not really nearer ABC at Mallia than at either Phaistos or at Knossos itself; in each case there is the separating corridor, D. This error seems to have been encouraged by a misplacement of the door from B at Mallia into D; the position of this doorway should be about a metre and a half farther south than it is placed on the French plans, e. g. on Plan II of *op. cit.* (n. 8), where it is put at a gap in the wall instead of where there is a single block, surely a threshold, still in situ. See also the new plan (VII) published in *Etudes crétoises,* 19 (Plan du site, plans du palais, indices), 1974.

[17] *Op. cit.* (n. 10), 13. This is in approximate agreement with the new plan referred to above n. 16; on this plan the top surface of one of the two bases is 1.05 m lower than the floor of E.

[18] *Europa* 238 n. 9. On LMN (50) see *PoC* 90 and *op. cit.* (n. 7), 258–268.

M; 2) the light-well at Phaistos, M, is in the center of the suite of rooms and between the two pairs of columns[19], whereas at Knossos there was a light-well along the side and another at the far east end; 3) Ea at Knossos is a corridor leading to H, not a part of the living-space of the Queen's Hall, and the light-well, Eb, was evidently intended principally to light the corridor Ea and the stairway to the upper storey; 4) the stone bench around the two walls of L at Phaistos finds its parallel not with the Residential Quarters at Knossos but with the room at the east end of the Men's Hall at Hagia Triada; 5) there is no BR/LB off LMN, and, although Platon explains this by means of his postulate that a BR/LB can occur either off the Queen's Hall or off the King's Hall, yet the BR/LB, F, is no more closely associated with the Men's Hall, ABC, at Phaistos, than it is at Knossos or at Mallia, for there is the same intervening corridor, D, in all three cases[20]; 6) LMN does not have the privacy that characterizes E at Knossos or Mallia, or E at Phaistos itself, for it is entered through a wide doorless opening, flanked by a column and a window-like space, directly from the stairway (76) descending to the Men's Hall, ABC. Thus, although its position suggests that LMN *may* have formed some part of the Residential Quarters, to attempt to explain it more specifically as constituting the Women's Quarters raises more objections than it settles. I am therefore content to leave its true function unsolved, at least for the time being, for I can see no helpful parallel to it in the other palaces. On the other hand I can see no objection whatever to recognizing in EF at Phaistos, as at Knossos, a suite forming part of the Women's Quarters.

In summary, then, I am firmly convinced that the Residential Quarters of the three major palaces are so similar that Platon's suggestions represent a step backward rather than forward in the interpretation of the function of the rooms of which they are composed. The rooms I have designated as E on the plans will, I repeat, surely have had the same purpose in all three cases. Whether that purpose is best described by the terms Queen's Hall, Women's Hall, Ladies' Dressing Room, Private Sitting-room of the Royal Family, or even Anteroom to the Bath, is a matter on which there is plenty of room for a difference of opinion, though personally I think the

[19] From the plan of the palace one might suppose that N, not M, was the light-well, but the evidence of a drain and of the wall construction indicates that the Italians are right in taking M to be the light-well (a similar arrangement occurs at Hagia Triada, *PoC* 98).

[20] See above n. 16. The BR/LB is off the King's Hall only when there is no Queen's Hall, as in Tylissos A.

term Anteroom to the Bath does less than justice to the importance of the room[21].

It may be added with regard to the newly found palace at Kato Zakro that its excavator, Platon, is probably right in recognizing the Men's and Women's Halls in rooms 37 and 36, respectively, which form part of a badly preserved area east of the Central Court[22]. But it is not clear whether the BR/LB (58), some distance to the north of these rooms, together with its anteroom (59) – certainly an "anteroom" in this case – is to be considered as a bathroom belonging to the Residential Quarters or as a lustral chamber to be associated with the main entrance of the palace. Its form, decoration, and finds, as well as its isolation from 37 and 36 would suggest that the latter alternative is a distinct possibility[23]. But, as Platon himself says, "the distinction between bathroom and lustral chamber is not always easy"[24].

Another instance of this difficulty is to be found in the pair of BR/LBs in the south-western quarter of the palace at Phaistos, 19 and 21. These have been interpreted by their Italian excavators as bathrooms for the palace staff[25], but as Platon remarks, "there are no living quarters nearby"[26]. Instead, as he further notes, the nearby rooms along the Central Court, 22–24, and the block of four rooms facing on the West Court, 8–11, appear to have had religious functions. Nevertheless, although I would agree that these two BR/LBs, like perhaps all "bathrooms", may have possessed religious associations to a certain degree, I see no strong reasons either in the form of the rooms or in the finds made in them to view 19 and 21 as *primarily* ritual rooms, as Platon does – in this instance approaching the views of Alexiou (see below). For the two suites of rooms of which the BR/LBs form a part, i. e. rooms 17, 18, 19, and 16, 20, 21, appear to have no physical connection with rooms 8–11 or 22–24; their exit and entrance, in fact, is by way of 12–15, a series of

[21] In their study of the houses at Amarna (first half of the fourteenth century B. C.) Peet and Woolley (*The City of Akhenaten*, 1, 37) conclude that a room, smaller than the main Living Room but similarly furnished was "clearly an inner and more private Living Room"; the analogy between these two halls and the primary and secondary halls (men's and women's halls) in the Minoan palaces and houses is extraordinarily close.

[22] N. Platon, *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*, 1971, 174–184.

[23] Platon sees it as "serving both as an ordinary bathroom for the royal family and occasionally for ritual purification", *op. cit.*, 183.

[24] *Europa* 239.

[25] *op. cit.* (n. 7), 122–130.

[26] *Europa* 243.

corridors which connect with the main entrance, 7, from the West Court into the Central Court[27]. Platon seems not to have noticed my suggestion that the complex of rooms 16–21 constituted two guest-suites, consisting, we might say, of sitting-room, bedroom, and bath, entered from a common anteroom, 15. I still see this as the solution that best fits the known facts, hypothetical though it must remain unless some further evidence turns up[28].

* * *

The views of Alexiou take quite a different turn from those of Platon. Alexiou's principal thesis is that none of the BR/LBs was used for ordinary bathing, but solely for some ritual purpose or purposes. He thus reverts essentially to the position of Evans and his followers who regarded these rooms as lustral basins or chambers rather than as bathrooms. The bathing of the body for the ordinary purposes of cleansing would have taken place, according to Alexiou, in clay tubs which could be placed almost anywhere in the palace or house, although rarely, it would appear, in the Residential Quarters[29].

One of Alexiou's principal reasons for adopting this view is that the BR/LBs had no drain and therefore could not have been used, he says, for any such practical purpose as bathing[30]. This is not a new argument, and Platon and I have already pointed out that it would have been very difficult and expensive to build and to maintain in operation a drain at such a depth below the general surface[31]. However that may be, we do not subscribe to Alexiou's view that the lack of a drain would have ruled out the possible use of the BR/LBs as actual bathrooms. Drains would have been a convenience (until they became blocked), but were not a necessity. For example, in the classical Greek houses of Olynthos, where *built-in* tubs were used, less than half of the two dozen bathrooms excavated at

[27] *PoC* 112.

[28] My suggestion was made quite independently of a similar identification by Mr and Mrs Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, 1911, 81.

[29] *KCh* 420.

[30] Cf. Platon's comment (*Europa* 237): "Graham rightly noticed that neither the lack of drainage nor the covering of the walls and floors with gypsum constitutes an argument supporting the theory of lustral places . . ." Platon says that the BR/LB in Tylissos C does have a drain.

[31] *Europa* 245; *PoC* 103. Not that it would have been at all impossible for a people who built the drainage system in the Residential Quarter at Knossos; yet even there it had not been felt desirable to connect the bathroom with this system.

that site were provided with drains, and these would have done no more than help to keep the *floors* dry – it would still have been necessary to bail and sponge out the *tubs*[32]. The same is true for the bathroom in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos, which had a built-in tub and a drain for the floor[33]. Egyptian practice varied: sometimes there was a drain, sometimes a jar cemented into the floor – which would have had to be bailed out in order to be emptied[34].

The need for some method of drainage would have been much reduced if, as I have previously suggested, clay bathtubs were used in conjunction with these BR/LBs, for the tubs could have been carried out by their handles or their projecting rims and emptied[35] – indeed the provision of handles might be taken to indicate that some such practice was followed. And, although Alexiou may be right in objecting that the tubs of water would have been excessively heavy and awkward even for four men to carry up the narrow stairways (usually involving a right-angled turn)[36], this objection is not really serious inasmuch as only a relatively small amount of water would have been used since a "Sitzbad" was not intended for immersion, modern style. In any event they could have been lightened, or even have been completely evacuated, by bailing – just as built-in tubs necessarily were – thus making it unnecessary to carry out the tubs at all.

More serious is Alexiou's further argument against the use of tubs that no tubs, and more significantly (since complete specimens would have been retrieved from the ruins), no fragments of tubs have ever been found, or at any rate seem to have been reported as found, in the BR/LBs[37]. He suggests, therefore, that the BR/LBs were not designed for the use of clay bathtubs, or indeed for bathing at all, but rather for ceremonial purifications or perhaps for rain-magic rituals (in conjunction with the rhyta so often found in or near these rooms), the performance of which need have involved only symbolic amounts of liquids[38].

The comparatively few and very fragmentary bathtubs, mostly in LM I–II contexts, that have been mentioned in publications, Alexiou

[32] D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, 8, 1938, 202.

[33] C. W. Blegen and M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, 1, 1966,185–189.

[34] J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna*, 1935, 106f.

[35] Platon notes that "the use of bath-tubs reduced the need for drainage", *Europa* 237.

[36] *KCh* 421.

[37] *KCh* 419f.

[38] *KCh* 428.

concludes from their place of finding, were used almost indiscriminately in one or another of the rooms of the Minoan palaces or houses[39]. At any rate their fewness contrasts strongly with the mass of tubs of LM III date found for the most part in burials of that period, where they were used, or reused, as coffins[40].

As relevant to the discussion we should at this point consider the significance of a peculiar phenomenon that has been observed in Houses A and C at Tylissos, in the Villa of the Lilies at Amnisos, and in the South House at Knossos[41]. In each of these four houses the deep basin, F, of their BR/LBs was eliminated by backfilling with earth, thus elevating their floor-level to match that of the adjoining room, E, from which they were entered, and completely concealing the stairway except for the top of the parapet at the edge of the stairway and the column, or the base on which the column had rested. The existence of such a parapet and column-base in F in the Residential Quarter of the Palace of Minos renders it highly probable that, although the present floors of E and F are at the same level, a trial excavation below the floor of F would reveal that here too a similar change had occurred[42].

In the four certain instances, just mentioned, in which the low-level floor of the BR/LB was eliminated we still have no decisive evidence to indicate what purpose the room served even in its later form. In the fifth and still uncertain instance, however, i. e. the one in the Residential Quarter at Knossos, a fragmentary clay bathtub in LM IIIA style was found nearby, in Ea[43], and it was this fact, coupled with the dimensions, location, and form of the room, that induced Evans to identify F here as a bathroom, an identification that he maintained from first to last[44]. If, then, Alexiou excavates here (as he plans to do) and finds traces of stairs and/or a low level floor it would be natural to infer that the room in its earlier form (i. e. with sunken floor) was also used as a bathroom, and natural too to infer that at least all the BR/LBs in the Residential Quarters were likewise so used[45].

[39] The significance of such scattered finds of tub fragments is debatable.

[40] *KCh* 419f.

[41] *Europa* 237–239; *PoC* 102f. The two at Tylissos and the one at Amnisos were first recognized by Platon.

[42] *Europa* 239 with n. 12; *PoC* 103.

[43] See above (n. 6).

[44] *PoM* 3, 385.

[45] Cf. *Europa* 237: "as we know that many rooms with a staircase have been altered by being filled up with earth and thus making a new floor, such an interpretation would lead

This change in the form of the bathroom – if bathroom it was in both stages – could be understood as reflecting a change in the style of bathing[46]. The fact that, as Alexiou has pointed out, clay tubs seem to have been rare before the LM period might suggest that their appearance was also connected with this change in the physical form of the room. In that event it may be conjectured that in the earlier stage, and possibly under the influence of the Egyptian practice, water was poured over the bather, while in a standing or crouching position, by an attendant[47]. With an eye to increased physical comfort the Cretans will have improved upon this method by sinking the floor of F, where the bather stood, below the level of the room, E, from which it was entered. Thus the attendant would have been able to stand at a higher level and so more conveniently and more effectively pour the water – or even sprinkle it from a perforated container – over the head and shoulders of the bather.

This would also provide a more adequate explanation for the Cretans' going to so much trouble to sink their BR/LBs several feet beneath the general level than any of the explanations offered previously, such as to avoid draughts, to prevent splashing the surroundings, or to ensure privacy – though one or more of these may have been a consideration[48]. This will also provide a reasonable explanation for an otherwise puzzling feature of the carefully designed and finished BR/LB in the North Residential Quarter at Phaistos[49]. The entrance to the basin in F is, in quite normal fashion, via a stairway along its west side, at the head of which is a doorway entered from E; but, in addition, on the opposite (east) side, there is a broad ledge at the same level as the floor in E entered, like the stairs, by a doorway from E. Surely this ledge, whose level is about a metre above the floor of the basin, F, would have provided an

us to admit the transformation of the lustral places into bathrooms, which seems very unlikely"; the interpretation he here refers to is that "all the rooms provided with a staircase leading down into them should be lustral places".

[46] Platon, *Europa* 245, seems to suggest a change in bathing habits: "it is possible that in earlier times the basin was filled with water" (on this see below, n. 51), while "the use of bath-tubs is very likely during the last period".

[47] Pendlebury, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 106f.: "the bath itself is a stone slab in one corner surrounded by a screen wall over which a slave would pour the water on his master."

[48] *PoC* 105f.; *Europa* 237. In a short discussion of the problem of the BR/LBs Bogdan Rutkowski explains the sunken basins as a means "to prevent the water from escaping" (*Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Warsaw 1972, 231).

[49] Pernier and Banti (*op. cit.* [n. 7], 303) also admit being puzzled and make a very unlikely suggestion.

excellent location for the attendant to stand when administering the douche.

It should also be observed that the suggestions just made to explain the function of these low-level basins would apply equally well for a ceremonial as for a practical usage.

Some, however, will perhaps be inclined to object to this proposed method of bathing on the ground that, as has often been asserted, gypsum is so soluble to water that the thin alabaster lining of the Minoan BR/LBs would soon be eroded away[50]. But this danger has been greatly exaggerated: a finegrained, smooth-finished gypsum slab would resist the dissolving power of water almost indefinitely. Moreover, such a "shower" bath – which would be quite a different thing from an "immersion" bath – would not have meant filling or even partly filling the basin, nor allowing water to stand to some depth in it for some length of time before it was emptied. Probably not more than a couple of gallons of water would have been used for a single douche, and even five gallons (20 to 25 litres) would not have covered the floor of the basin in such a BR/LB as that in the North Residential Quarter at Phaistos to a depth greater than half a centimetre (one fifth of an inch)[51]. To sponge up this amount promptly after the bath would surely not have unduly taxed the attendants of the royal bath. They may even have, on occasion, allowed the water to disappear through evaporation or by seepage between the slabs of the floor.

When, at a later date, possibly under Near Eastern influence, the convenience of bathing in a tub came to be appreciated, it must also soon have been realized that, as Alexiou has pointed out, to carry the tub up the stairs to be emptied, or even to bail the water into buckets to be carried

[50] On the use of gypsum see *PoC* 104; *KCh* 415; and *Europa* 237 ("gypsum slabs . . . had the practical advantages of being durable and easily renewed"). J. W. Shaw, "Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques", *ASAtene* 33, 1971, 21–33 takes a more cautious approach.

[51] Even a royal Minoan bather would be unlikely to use nearly as much water as the modern bather who is accustomed to unlimited amounts of water, hot or cold, at the turn of a tap. Platon's suggestion that "it is possible that in earlier times the basin was *filled* [my italics] with water" should surely be rejected because of the amount of water involved (cf. above, n. 46): the BR/LB in the North Residential Quarter at Phaistos, for example, would contain when full some 1200 imperial gallons or about 5500 litres! If the basin were not emptied after each such use (at what labor!) one can readily imagine the condition of the water after a week or two in the heat of summer. Pendlebury also remarks of the north "lustral area" at Knossos that "it can never have been filled with water – the gypsum paving and wall-slabs would not have stood it" (*Handbook to the Palace of Minos*, ²1954, 44).

out, was a needlessly laborious task. The obvious remedy was to bring the floor-level of the BR/LB up to the level of the adjoining room, E, the Women's Hall. As we have already seen, this change in level seems to have been carried out in LM times in five out of the score or more BR/LBs so far excavated.

A solution along these lines, it seems to me, is more in keeping with the realities of the situation than to accept Alexiou's explanation that the palaces and mansions of Minoan Crete had no special bathrooms – palaces which, as the late Friedrich Matz wrote (perhaps with some exaggeration) in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, display a "domestic luxury with which the palaces of Egypt and the Near East have nothing comparable"[52]. Alexiou's view, if correct, would suggest instead that in this aspect of private life Crete was extraordinarily backward in the physical amenities, in consideration of the fact that specially constructed bathrooms were provided in mid-fourteenth century Egyptian houses at Amarna, in the palace at Mari on the Euphrates in the time of Hammurabi (18th century B. C.), in a LM III private house excavated by Alexiou himself at Katsamba, a seaport of Knossos[53], and in the Mycenaean palaces at Pylos, Tiryns, and (perhaps) Mycenae, even if one leaves out of account their frequency in quite modest private houses of the Hellenic and Hellenistic period at Olynthos and Delos.

It is also very difficult to accept Alexiou's point of view that even the BR/LBs in the very heart of the Residential Quarters, both in the palaces and in many of the private houses, should have been used *exclusively* for religious or ceremonial purposes[54]. Nor does this view seem consistent with his remark that "the position of the 'basins' (i. e. the BR/LBs) is not always so near the residential apartments that the conclusion may be drawn with certainty about their domestic usage"[55], for this would seem to imply that the BR/LBs did often occur within the Residential Quarters and that in such instances they were in fact used for domestic, i. e. bathing, purposes.

As for the alteration in the floor-level of several of the BR/LBs it seems easier to suggest a reason for this change in terms of a change in bathing

[52] *CAH* 2³, 1, 1973, 559.

[53] *Praktika* 1955, 312f. For Mari see A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari*, 2, 1958, 202–205, and note that the Homeric word *asaminthos* (now attested in Linear B) with its 'Minoan' ending has recently been referred to Akkadian *namasuttu*, 'wash-basin, tub', by O. Szemerényi, *JHS* 94, 1974, 149.

[54] *KCh* 425; 433.

[55] *KCh* 422.

habits than to attempt to explain it as due to some hypothetical alteration in religious fashions[56]. Indeed the naturally conservative character of religious practice would favor the retention of the system of purification by sprinkling rather than encourage a change to tub bathing, thus explaining why rooms which were used primarily or exclusively for ritual ceremonies, such as the Lustral Basin off the Throne Room at Knossos, would have kept their sunken floors.

In this connection I should admit that it was probably my attempt to sum up my position too briefly in the sentence quoted at the beginning of this paper that caused Dr Alexiou to misunderstand me. Taking me too literally as meaning that *every* BR/LB must have served both religious and domestic purposes he pointed to the in that case anomalous position of the BR/LB off the Room of the Throne at Knossos when so much space was available elsewhere in the palace for a bathroom, and when the Residential Quarters were so remote[57]. What I meant to suggest was that bathing in even the simplest and most domestic surroundings might involve some degree of religious experience; on the other hand I did not mean to be understood as declaring that even the most elaborate BR/LB must have been available on occasion for the purpose of ordinary bodily cleansing.

One other rather captious objection that Alexiou finds is that if EF had a ceremonial use then E would have functioned as a waiting-room for worshippers waiting to undergo the ritual bath or anointment in F; whereas if F were merely used for ordinary purpose of bathing then he can see no useful function for E to play[58]. Is it not reasonable, however, to suppose that in the numerous cases where the BR/LB was located within the Residential Quarters the women of the house or palace would have used E as a kind of private sitting-room or dressing-room? Evans evidently thought so, to judge from the restoration of this room which he published[59], and so surely have most writers on Minoan domestic architecture.

In conclusion I would suggest that the history of the usage of the BR/LBs ran somewhat as follows:

Sometime probably early in the period of the "new palaces" (MM III A) – if not earlier – and possibly under Egyptian influence, the practice was adopted of constructing a room specifically for bathing and

[56] As Alexiou would do, *KCh* 434.
[57] *KCh* 417; 422.
[58] *KCh* 433.
[59] *PoM* 3, frontispiece. Cf. the arrangement of the Amarna houses (see above, n. 21).

located off the secondary ("women's") hall, or, if that were missing, e. g. in Tylissos A, off the primary ("men's") hall. Water was poured over the bather by an attendant, as was done in Egypt, but this procedure was improved upon by sinking the floor of the bathroom, F, several feet below that of the main hall, E, and connecting the two rooms by a short flight of steps; thus the attendant, standing on the higher level in E, could pour the water over the bather in F more effectively, providing a kind of overhead douche or shower-bath.

Due to the widely-held belief that the soul as well as the body could be cleansed by washing it is not surprising that rooms similar to the bathrooms with sunken floors should also have been developed for ceremonial or ritual cleansing in connection with state or official functions. Naturally, too, such rooms tended to be built larger, deeper, and in a more pretentious architectural style than those built for private or domestic use only.

Apparently in MM III B times the introduction of bathing in clay tubs began, perhaps due to Near Eastern influence, and this in turn led to giving up the use of the sunken basins. For ritual purposes, however, religious conservatism would have tended to perpetuate the older procedure of pouring water over the worshipper, and so we may assume that there would have been no compelling reason to alter the physical form of the ceremonial type of room, that is of the "Lustral Basin". And it is true that the four or five instances so far recognized where the floor of the basin, F, has been adjusted upward have all been clearly of the domestic rather than of the ceremonial character, while there seems no clear evidence that the floor-level of any of the purely or primarily ritual BR/LBs was ever so elevated[60].

[60] Platon, to be sure, does claim that the BR/LB in the Little Palace at Knossos (which should probably be reckoned as a lustral basin rather than as a domestic bathroom) "during the Post-palatial period was changed into a shrine by filling in the inner space and thus covering up its staircase . . ." (*op. cit.* [n. 22], 181; and similarly *Europa* 241). But this view is based on a somewhat obscurely worded passage in the *PoM* (2,522f.) where Evans is really referring to the floor-level of the bottom of the basin, not, as Platon understands him, to a hypothetical later floor built at a higher level in the "Reoccupation" period. It is true that in this late period certain alterations in the room were made, such as walling up some doorways and closing the intervals between the row of fluted wooden columns standing on the east parapet of the basin, but that no raising of the floor-level occurred is made clear by Evans' comparison to the BR/LBs of the Room of the Throne and of the North Lustral Area (no one, I think, has ever claimed that either of these was at any time rebuilt with a high-level floor), as well as by a careful reading of Mackenzie's eye-witness account of the excavation of the BR/LB of the Little Palace (daybook 1905, May 3–5) where he describes its clearing in explicit detail.

J. R. Hamilton

Cleitarchus and Diodorus 17

Until the appearance of Sir William Tarn's *Alexander the Great* there was general agreement that the sole source, or at least the principal source, of the seventeenth book of Diodorus' *History* was Cleitarchus[1]. Tarn maintained, however, that the problem of Diodorus' sources in this book was more complex. He claimed to detect two distinct and inconsistent portraits of Alexander, a favourable portrait derived from Aristobulus, and an unfavourable one based on Cleitarchus. In addition, Tarn believed that he had discovered a valuable primary source, an account committed to writing by "an unknown Greek who wrote from the point of view of the Greek mercenaries in Darius' service"[2]. The existence of this "mercenaries' source" has been disproved more than once, notably by Brunt and Pearson, while the two portraits which Tarn perceived in Diodorus have been shown to be but two aspects of a single portrait[3]. Nevertheless, Tarn's analysis of Diodorus 17 has not been without effect. It inspired M. J. Fontana to make a fresh examination of the "fragments" of Cleitarchus, as a result of which she concluded that Diodorus used Cleitarchus only at secondhand through Duris of Samos[4]. C. B. Welles also thought that Diodorus knew Cleitarchus through an intermediary, but suggested that this was Pompeius Trogus[5]. Finally, after a most thorough examination of the "fragments", Borza (p. 36) held that "there was no proof that he

[1] For a good summary see E. N. Borza, "Cleitarchus and Diodorus' Account of Alexander", *PACA* 11, 1968, 25–45; esp. 25f. ("I. The State of the Problem"); and, for greater detail, J. Seibert, *Alexander der Große*, 1972, 25–29.

[2] W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 1948, 2, 71ff.; the words quoted occur on page 72.

[3] P. A. Brunt, "Persian Accounts of Alexander's Campaigns", *CQ* 12, 1962, 141–155; L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander*, 1960, 78–82. See also R. K. Sinclair, "Diodorus Siculus and the Writing of History", *PACA* 6, 1963, 36–45, at page 42ff. For the two portraits see Pearson 241 and Borza, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 36ff.
The classic examination of Tarn's *Alexander* is H. Strasburger, *BO* 9, 1952, 202–211.

[4] M. J. Fontana, "Il problema delle fonti per il XVII libro di Diodoro Siculo", *Kokalos* 1, 1955, 155–190.

[5] C. B. Welles, introduction to the Loeb-Diodorus, vol. 8, 1963.

(Diodorus) used Cleitarchus either directly or as his only principal source".

In his recent book on Alexander Professor Schachermeyr devoted a brief but typically forthright appendix[6] to a discussion of the arguments of Welles and Borza, reaffirming his earlier view that Cleitarchus was the principal and direct source of Diodorus' seventeenth book. With this view I entirely agree, and in this article – a small return for Professor Schachermeyr's many contributions to Alexander studies – I advance in support some general considerations which he did not mention or did not develop, and discuss the more important "fragments" of Cleitarchus.

1. Diodorus 17 and Curtius Rufus. – Probably the most important single fact in this problem is that quite obviously for considerable stretches the narratives of Diodorus and Curtius bear a greater or lesser resemblance to each other. As Professor Schachermeyr stresses, it is inadmissible to treat Diodorus 17 in isolation from Curtius. Many years ago Eduard Schwartz drew up a lengthy list of parallel passages in the two authors, and this list might well be extended[7]. Nevertheless, it is not always appreciated just how extensive and how close is the similarity between their respective accounts, since several factors tend to obscure this.

The first and most obvious of these is the difference in scale between the two works. While Diodorus deals with the reign of Alexander in a single book, Curtius' *History of Alexander* extends to ten books and, even when we take into account the relative brevity of Curtius' books, it is clear that his narrative must have been about three or four times as long as Diodorus'[8]. Again, the two authors inevitably selected different episodes on which to concentrate. This episodic construction is especially characteristic of Curtius, whose method is admirably portrayed by E. I. McQueen: "We find in each book a series of 'showpieces' which he builds

[6] F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Große: Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, ²1973, "Anhang Nr. 2: Der Weg zu Kleitarch", 658–662.

[7] E. Schwartz, *RE* 4, 1873f. (= *Griechische Geschichtschreiber*, 1959, 159–161). I would add the following: C(urtius) 3,11,27 = D(iodorus 17,)36,6; C 3,12,15–17 = D 37,5–6; C 3,12,26 = D 38,2; C 4,1,15–26 = D 47,1–6; C 4,3,22 = D 41,8; C 4, 4,3–5 = D 41,5–6; C 4,9,4–5 = D 53,1–2. In Schwartz' list (1873 [= 159]) "Curt. III 11,27–33 = Diod. XVII 48,2–4" should be corrected to read Curt. 4,1,27–33, etc.

[8] The matter is complicated by the loss of the first two books of Curtius' *History*, as well as the end of Book 5 and the beginning of Book 6 and substantial *lacunae* in Book 10, compounded by a very extensive gap between ch. 83 and 84 of Diodorus equivalent to roughly one-and-a-half books of Curtius.

up at the expense of other incidents, and on which he lavishes all his powers[9]." Where such elaboration coincides with abbreviation of his source by Diodorus, as not infrequently happens, then the versions may differ to a remarkable extent. The most striking examples are probably their respective accounts of the final pursuit of Darius, which Diodorus deals with in fewer than twenty (Teubner) lines compared with the six chapters of Curtius, and the 'plot' and trial of Philotas, which occupy only some sixty-five lines in Diodorus, but five complete chapters in Curtius[10].

In some instances, too, it is evident that Curtius is making use of material different from that used by Diodorus. It seems likely that his account of the battle of Gaugamela, for example, includes a considerable admixture of Ptolemy, whom he certainly uses elsewhere, while he features in his history geographical and ethnographical descriptions, such as those of the Caspian Sea (6,4,15–22) or of Bactria (7,4,26–31), derived in some cases at least from authors later than the age of Alexander[11]. Another notable difference between the two writers is that, whereas Curtius has numerous lengthy speeches throughout his work, Diodorus does not include a single speech in Book 17 and only nine examples of direct discourse of any sort[12]. Moreover, the order of events in the two writers sometimes differs considerably. This is true, for example, of their narratives of the siege of Tyre where, as Werner Rutz has demonstrated so clearly[13], Curtius rearranges his material in order to produce a picture of "the heroic struggle of a great individual against all the opposition of man and Nature"[14].

Scholars have not always made sufficient allowance for the different purposes of the two authors or for their different modes of expression; consequently they have been led to suppose that they draw on separate

[9] E. I. McQueen, "Quintus Curtius Rufus", in: T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography*, 1967, 17–43. This quotation is taken from page 26.

[10] Darius: Diod. 17,73; Curt. 5,8–13; Philotas: Diod. 17.79; Curt. 6,7–11. The episode of Philip the doctor shows the same difference on a smaller scale: Diod. 17,31,5–6; Curt. 3,5–6.

[11] For Gaugamela see Tarn 2,109; 185ff. For a complete list of the geographical and ethnographical descriptions see McQueen, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 18.

[12] Details in Borza, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 41 n. 77. For Curtius' use of speeches see McQueen, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 31. We cannot say whether Cleitarchus included speeches in his *History*.

[13] W. Rutz, "Zur Erzählungskraft des Q. Curtius Rufus. Die Belagerung von Tyrus", *Hermes* 93, 1965, 370–382. The quotation is from page 382.

[14] On the other hand, Diodorus would seem to relate the successive stories of Abdalonymus, Amyntas, and Agis *after* the siege of Tyre, in contrast to Curtius who relates them before the siege, because of his misconception that Abdalonymus became king of Tyre instead of king of Sidon, as was actually the case.

sources when, in fact, they interpret the same information in their own way. Curtius, clearly a much more rhetorical writer than Diodorus[15], has sometimes been accorded a measure of independence[16] and certainly he must be supposed to have treated his source on occasion with considerable freedom. This is surely true of his account of the Philotas affair, where it seems to me highly likely that his own experience of treason trials shows through. Diodorus, on the other hand, has commonly been regarded as a writer who reproduces his source with little alteration. This may be true in many cases, but even Diodorus, as Drews has pointed out, had his own view of Alexander[17]. However, this is not due, as he suggests, to Diodorus' use of a number of *sources*, but to Diodorus' own treatment of the source he shares with Curtius. Of the instances cited by Drews[18], the first two have no parallel in Curtius, since his extant narrative begins only with Book 3[19], but a comparison of the others with the corresponding passages in Curtius reveals that the two writers differ from each other in the point of view they hold or the emphasis they give to this detail or that, not in the source they are following. The facts they present do not differ materially, but Curtius does not moralise explicitly in the way that Diodorus does when he refers constantly to Alexander's φιλανθρωπία, his ἐπιείκεια and his μεγαλοψυχία. A good example of their differing personal contributions to an episode is to be seen in their treatment of the story of Alexander and the captive Persian royal family; Diodorus comments at some length on Alexander's ability to bear success while Curtius remarks that the king could not contain the mounting flood of Fortune[20].

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate the extent to which the accounts of Diodorus and Curtius correspond is to compare them in detail over a reasonably long portion of narrative. I propose, therefore, to begin immediately after Alexander's defeat of the Indian rajah, Porus, and to examine the Indian campaign, which occupies chapters 89–104 of Diodorus and Curtius' entire ninth book[21].

[15] See, e. g., McQueen, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 31f.

[16] See Pearson's remarks, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 217 n. 23.

[17] R. Drews, "Diodorus and His Sources", *AJPh* 83, 1962, 383–392; esp. 391f.

[18] At 392 n. 29.

[19] Although they do occur in Justin. Diod. 17,2,2 = Iust. 11,1,8; Diod. 17,4,1–3 = Iust. 11,3,1–2.

[20] At 6,2,17ff. Curtius introduces his belief that Alexander was determined to conquer the remotest parts of the East.

[21] Shorter passages where the correspondence is closer are not hard to find. Compare, for example, their versions of Alexander's visit to Siwah (Diod. 17,49,2–51 = Curt. 4,7,6–28).

D(iodorus 17,)89,3–6 (=C[urtius] 9,1,1–3). Both D and C report that after his victory Alexander sacrificed to Helios (Sol), who had given him the eastern regions to conquer. Following (in C only) an address by the king to his troops, he orders the construction of a fleet from the abundant timber nearby and we hear of his intention to subdue all India before sailing down the river to the Ocean. D then mentions the reinstatement of Porus (related by C at the end of Book 8), and concludes the chapter by remarking that the Macedonians rested for 30 days; this last point C omits.

D 90 (= C 9,1,4–12). D tells of snakes 16 cubits long found in the mountains. C calls these 'of unheard-of size' and mentions the rhinoceros, about which D is silent, relating instead Indian methods of catching monkeys (= Cleitarchus 137 F 19). The submission of Sasibares[22] is told with differing details, and Alexander crosses the river Hydaspes[23] and enters a very fertile region on whose remarkable trees both comment, again differently in detail. At this point D and C both refer (notably) a second time to snakes, in this case small, brilliantly coloured, and deadly[24]. D describes the symptoms of the victims and the use of hammocks by the Macedonians before telling, as C does, of the discovery of an antidote.

D 91 (= C 9,1,13–30). D relates the flight of the cousin and namesake of Porus to Gandhara and the transfer of his kingdom to his cousin. Of this C says nothing; nor does he refer to the custom of suttee among the Cathaeans, which D mentions[25]. The military narrative in C is so vague that we cannot say if he includes a campaign against the Adrestians touched on by D. However, both deal in very similar terms with customs in the kingdom of Sopeithes, his surrender and reinstatement. D gives the king's height as over 4 cubits, while C concentrates instead on a detailed description of his dress.

D 92 (= C 9,1,31–34). This chapter is devoted entirely to a description of the courage of the native dogs, four of which fought against a lion, one of them allowing its leg to be severed rather than release its grip on the

[22] Called Abisares by Curtius. At 17,87,2 the MSS of Diodorus have Embisares.

[23] J. C. Rolfe in the Loeb-Curtius reads at 9,1,8: *hinc praerapido amne superato* (for the MSS *hinc poro amne superato*). But we should change only *poro* into *porro*, as Diod. 17,90,4, περάσας τὸν ποταμόν, shows. Foss' *hinc Poro amneque superato* is also unnecessary.

[24] I draw attention to the verbal similarities of Diod. 17,90,5, εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα ὄφεων πλῆθος,and Curt. 9,1,12, *ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat.*

[25] Strabo (15 C. 699) who has a similar account cites Onesicritus as his source.

lion. The same details appear in C, who adds that he does not believe the story.

D 93,1–3 (= C 9,1,35–2,7). The accounts of both writers agree very closely. Hephaestion (previously detached) rejoins and Alexander advances into the territory of Phegeus, who surrenders. Two days later Alexander reaches the river Hyphasis, which is difficult to cross, and is told by Phegeus that the Ganges is 12 days journey distant across a desert; its eastern bank is held by the Tabresians (Prasians) and the Gandaridae with enormous forces. D and C differ only to the extent that D gives 4,000 elephants and C 3,000. Both report that Alexander could not believe this and asked Porus, who confirmed Phegeus' information. However, Porus added that the king was the son of a barber whose father had been the queen's lover and had gained the throne when she killed her husband. C provides a little more detail.

D 93,4–94 (= C 9,2,8–3,18). In D Alexander is encouraged to continue his campaign by the quality of his troops and the thought that the Pythia had called him 'invincible' and Ammon had promised him world rule[26]. Seeing, however, that the Macedonians were exhausted by the constant fighting and the monsoon rains, he decides, in order to win their support, to allow them to plunder the surrounding territory and to make provision for their wives and children. But the soldiers reject Alexander's speech and he abandons the campaign. C tells a very different story. Alexander has grave doubts about the willingness of the troops, but he has "an insatiable thirst for renown" and is bent on world rule; finally, "ambition prevailed over reason". As in Arrian, Alexander and Coenus deliver lengthy set speeches for and against the proposed campaign; Coenus is supported by the other leaders, and the king retires to his tent, where he sulks for two days before giving in.

D 95 (= C 9,3,19–23). D and C relate in very similar fashion that to impress posterity Alexander built altars to the twelve gods, and constructed beds and mangers larger than lifesize. Both then (wrongly) suppose that he returned to the Acesines to find the ships he had ordered built (D 89) now complete, whereas, in fact, this was done on the Hydaspes. We hear next of the arrival of reinforcements and armour: D gives 30,000 infantry, C only 7,000, although both agree on 25,000 suits of armour, and give the number of ships as 1,000. They say that the king

[26] For Ammon see Diod. 17,51,2. Only Plut. *Alex.* 14,7 mentions the story of the Pythia.

named the cities Nicaea and Bucephala, and C adds a mention of a marriage alliance between Porus and Taxiles.

D 96 (= C 9,3,24–4,7). Alexander sails down the river until he reaches the confluence of the Acesines and the Hydaspes and subdues the Siboi, descendants of Heracles who, according to C, wore skins and carried clubs. In the campaign against the Agalasseis (not *named* by C), 40,000 strong, most of the inhabitants are burned to death in their city (or, according to C, burnt themselves), but those in the citadel are pardoned (implied by C)[27].

D 97 (= C 9,4,8–14). Alexander reaches the junction of these two rivers with the Indus[28]. The fleet runs into great difficulties in the fast-flowing current; two galleys are sunk and several of the lighter vessels run aground, but eventually reach shore safely. Alexander battles with the river, like Achilles, as D expressly comments, and sacrifices to the gods for his deliverance.

D 98–99 (= C 9,4,15–7,11). Alexander campaigns against the Sudracae[29] and the Mallians – the figures for their forces in D and C vary slightly – who are reconciled in the face of his attack, but fall out again and retire to their respective cities. C at this point reports speeches (in *oratio obliqua*) by the mutinous troops and by Alexander, who completely wins them over. Of this D says nothing. As the king approaches the first town he is warned by the seer Demophon that he will risk great danger if he attacks, but he pays no attention. Instead, he enters the city by a postern gate, mounts a ladder to the citadel, and, when the other ladders break, jumps down alone into the citadel. He protects himself on the right by a tree (which Fortune had provided – C) until the arrival of Peucestes and others (C names Timaeus, Leonnatus, and Aristonus). The city is taken by storm and the natives butchered. (At this point C rejects the statement of Cleitarchus [F 24] that Ptolemy was present, then describes how the king showed himself to his troops and includes speeches by Craterus and Alexander.) At 99,5 D passes to the revolt of the Greeks in Bactria and

[27] Tarn 2,82 n. 2 is entirely mistaken in thinking that Curtius' narrative differs from Diodorus'. He has missed *alia gens* at Curt. 9,4,5.

[28] Welles, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 399 n. 2, wrongly supposes that, like Arrian, Curtius thinks only of the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. In fact, as *tria flumina* at 9,4,8 shows, he agrees with Diodorus. Welles is also mistaken in thinking that Alexander jumped into the water; as in Curtius (9,4,12), he only prepares to do so.

[29] In "Cleitarchus and Aristobulus", *Historia* 10, 1961, 448–458, I have argued (at page 458) that their use of *Sudracae* for Arrian's *Oxydracae* and of *Porticanus* (Diod. 17,102) for his *Oxycanus* is derived ultimately from Onesicritus through Cleitarchus.

Sogdiana, whom he confuses with those killed by Peithon after Alexander's death (D 18,4,8; 18,7,1–9)[30]. C (9,1,1–11) also mentions the revolt, but deals mainly with the adventures of a Greek called Biton.

D 100–101 (= C 9,7,12–26). C begins by mentioning envoys from the Mallians and Sudracae for whom a feast is held. He then relates the contest between Corrhagus and Dioxippus and the latter's subsequent disgrace and suicide. D omits the story of the envoys; otherwise he agrees closely with C.

D 102 (= C 9,8,1–16). Alexander resumes his voyage and enters the territory of the Sambastae (Sebarci). The number of the enemy troops tallies exactly in D and C and both mention the democratic system of the Indians[31]. D then relates in quick succession the submission of the Sodrae (another nation – C) and the Massani, the foundation of an Alexandria and the surrender of Musicanus (the Musicani – C). Here C relates the misgovernment of two satraps, Terioltes among the Parapamisadae and Oxyartes among the Bactrians. Terioltes is put to death and Oxyartes acquitted[32]. Alexander then invades the kingdom of Porticanus[33] and storms two cities. Porticanus flees, but is captured and killed in the third city, and all the other cities are destroyed and their inhabitants enslaved. More than 80,000 natives are killed (C cites Cleitarchus F 25), the most guilty of the Brahmins are punished and Sambus escapes across the Indus with 30 elephants. C reports a revolt among the Musicani, its suppression by Peithon, and the execution of the chief[34].

D 103 (= C 9,8,17–28). Both authors report in very similar terms an attack on Harmatelia (not named by C); we hear of 500 Agriani and 3,000 natives and of the same strategy on Alexander's part. Then both relate how the Macedonians were wounded by arrows poisoned with snake venom. One of the victims is Ptolemy who is cured by a herb whose whereabouts are revealed to the king by a snake in a dream. This is followed in both by a eulogy of Ptolemy. Harmatelia is taken and its inhabitants spared (C mentions only their surrender).

[30] This shows that at times, at least, Diodorus was not simply a mere transcriber.

[31] In view of Diod. 17,102,3, πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν, it is tempting, although clearly not necessary, to read *ut <L> legatos mitterent* at Curt. 9,8,7.

[32] This information is also to be found at Arr. 6,15,3. He calls Terioltes (more correctly) Tyriespis, and says nothing of misconduct on the part of Oxyartes, who is given Tyriespis' satrapy.

[33] On the name forms see n. 29.

[34] On all this see Arr. 6,17,2.

D 104 (= C 9,8,28–10,7). Alexander sails into the Ocean with his Friends and discovers two islands on which he sacrifices. He pours a libation and throws the cups into the sea, then erects altars to Tethys and Oceanus to mark the end of his campaign. From here he returns to Patala, whose government resembles that of Sparta. (C devotes most of his narrative to the surprise of the Macedonians at encountering the tides [C 9,9,25 = Cleitarchus F 26] and in general has little in common with D.) Nearchus and 'others of his Friends' (C names Onesicritus) are sent by Alexander by sea to the Euphrates, while he himself burns the remaining boats and sets out by land. The Abritae and Cedrosians surrender, Alexander crosses an extensive desert and enters Oreitis. He divides his forces into three sections commanded by Leonnatus, Ptolemy, and himself, dévastates the countryside and, after much slaughter, compels the submission of the remainder. He founds an Alexandria[35].

Evidently, in a great many instances Diodorus or Curtius includes an item which the other omits. This is precisely what one would expect if two writers independently summarised the same source, and such instances are far outnumbered by those where Diodorus and Curtius are in substantial agreement, even in error. Opinions will differ, of course, how far differences in numbers and in the names of persons and places may be attributed to the hazards of transmission. It would be a mistake in my view to put too great emphasis on the discrepancies in personal and geographical names, particularly where non-Greeks and distant and unfamiliar places are involved. More significant are the passages where the MSS of Diodorus and Curtius agree against Arrian's, as they do at 98,1 (= C 9,4,15) and 102,5 (= C 9,8,11)[36]. Sometimes the figures for troops or reinforcements vary slightly, as at 98,1 (= C 9,4,15) where both have 10,000 cavalry, but Diodorus has 80,000 infantry for Curtius' 90,000 and 700 chariots against 900. Such variations are unimportant, especially where the adjoining narratives are in close agreement. More serious are differences such as that between Diodorus 95,4 and Curtius 9,3,21, where the former gives 30,000 infantry reinforcements, the latter only 7,000. Does this wide

[35] On this campaign and the Alexandria see my article, "Alexander among the Oreitae", *Historia* 21, 1972, 603–608.

[36] I would add here Diod. 17,105,1 (= Curt. 9,10,6), where all the MSS of Diodorus give Νεωριτῶν (for the Oreitae) and those of Curtius *Noritas*, wrongly emended by the Loeb editor to *Horitas*. Cf. also Diod. 17,102,1 (= Curt. 9,8,4), Σαμβαστῶν, *Sebarcae* against the Ἀβαστανῶν of Arrian (6,15,1).

discrepancy indicate a different source, or does the fact that both agree on 25,000 suits of armour and differ only to the extent of 6,000 and 5,000 cavalry, while both refer in the next sentence to Alexander's 1,000 ships, suggest a mistake in transmission?

Clearly the passage where the two writers are most at variance is D 93,4–94 (= C 9,2,8–3,18). Here their accounts differ almost completely, and we cannot possibly suppose that they are both using the same source exclusively, however much allowance we are prepared to make for their independence of outlook. To judge by the speeches that Curtius attributes to Alexander and Coenus, it seems at least possible that here he has before him the *History* of Ptolemy, and that he combines Ptolemy's version with his own view that Alexander is bent on achieving world rule. Curtius, of course, may be using sources other than Ptolemy and the source which he shares with Diodorus, but this does not affect the question of Diodorus' sources. There is little likelihood that they share a second major source or, indeed, that Diodorus uses more than a single main source. It must be remembered that Cleitarchus is not a primary source but an intermediary, and that the mosaic which Tarn (2,87–91) detected in ch. 75 of Diodorus is much more likely to be a mosaic of primary sources already present in Cleitarchus than one put together by Diodorus[37]. That the principal source of Diodorus is Cleitarchus has not been proved; this can be done only by an analysis of the "fragments", which must be compared not with Diodorus alone but with Curtius as well.

2. *The "Fragments" of Cleitarchus*[38]. – Of the 36 named "fragments" of Cleitarchus collected by Jacoby 16 find no parallel in Diodorus or Curtius. In the case of the great majority of these this is hardly surprising, when we consider their nature[39]. Perhaps the only instance, on the

[37] Strasburger, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 210, points out that this was stressed by Schwartz and Jacoby.

[38] For the "fragments" and "testimonia" about Cleitarchus see *FGrHist* 137. They are translated by C. A. Robinson, *The History of Alexander the Great*, 1, 1953, 171ff. Of the so-called "fragments" only three are verbatim extracts: F 3; 14; 35.

[39] 137 F 2 mentions the death of king Sardanapalus, F 3 the extraordinary beauty of Theias of Byblos, and F 7 dates Alexander's expedition 820 years after "the return of the Heracleidae". F 12 asserts that the Caspian Sea is as large as the Black Sea, and F 13 describes Armenia and the Caucasus. F 20–22 describe exotic birds of the East, F 23 names an Indian tribe, the Mandi, F 28 treats of salt-mining in India, and F 32 mentions a punishment for infidelity. F 33–34 concern Themistocles, while F 35 quotes Cleitarchus as saying that "daring surpasses the measure of power". F 36 cites him for the use of an unusual dual form of ἔχειν.

assumption that Cleitarchus is their common source, where we would expect to find a mention in either of the substance of a "fragment" is F 5, where Cleitarchus refers to the prerogative of the Persian monarchs to wear their tiara upright[40].

The content of 7 other "fragments" is expressed in such general terms that although the subject-matter is treated by Diodorus and Curtius we cannot say whether or not they are using Cleitarchus as their source. In F 6 Cleitarchus remarks that the naked wise men of India (Gymnosophists) despise even death, clearly with reference to Calanus, whose self-immolation Diodorus describes at 107,4–5[41]. F 8 merely states that Cleitarchus told of the defeat of Darius at Issus, and F 11 that he attributed the responsibility for the burning of the royal palace at Persepolis to Thais, the Athenian courtesan. Here we can at least say that Diodorus and Curtius follow this version in preference to the 'official' version given by Arrian. F 15 and F 16 deal with the supposed visit of the Amazon queen, Thalestris (or Thalestria, as Cleitarchus appears to have called her), and in the latter "fragment" she is said to have come from 'the Caspian Gates and Thermodon'. Although the accounts of Diodorus and Curtius (clearly form a common source) both mention the rivers Phasis and Thermodon no conclusions can be drawn about the identity of this common source. F 17 cites Cleitarchus for the information that Nysa was a mountain in India on which grew *skindapsos*, a plant like ivy. Diodorus' version is missing in the lacuna between chapters 83 and 84, although the list of the contents of Book 17 shows that he wrote of Nysa and Dionysus, while Curtius (8,10,7–18) mentions the presence there of ivy in abundance. In F 30 Athenaeus gives Theopompus as his source for the information that, after the death of Pythonice, Harpalus sent to Athens for Glycera and established her at Tarsus where he paid her extravagant honours; he adds that Cleitarchus said the same. Curtius has nothing of this; Diodorus (108,5–6) relates that Harpalus sent for Glycera, although he adds only that he kept her in great luxury.

[40] To judge by the book number, 10, the reference may be to the revolt of Bessos rather than a general description of the Persian king. Arrian (3,25,3) relates that Alexander was informed that Bessos was wearing his cap upright in royal fashion, and the Persian royal dress and was calling himself Artaxerxes. Curt. 6,6,13 does not mention the cap, but says that Bessos had assumed the royal dress and had given orders that he should be called Artaxerxes. Diodorus merely says that he had designated himself king.

[41] καταφρονεῖν, used in the "fragment", and καταφρόνησις, used by Diodorus, are too common for any deductions to be made from their use.

We are thus left with 13 "fragments" whose content is specific enough to make a comparison with the text of Diodorus and Curtius worthwhile. I discuss them in the order of Jacoby's numeration.

F 1 (= Athenaeus 4,148D–F). In chapter 14,4 Diodorus relates that Alexander realised 440 talents from the sale of the Theban captives. Precisely the same figure of 440 talents is said by Athenaeus to have been given by Cleitarchus as the total wealth of Thebes at the time of its capture, and it is tempting to conclude that Cleitarchus is the source of Diodorus' account, assuming carelessness on the part of Athenaeus. However, Borza (32f.) has pointed out that at 14,1 Diodorus states that 6,000 Thebans were killed and 30,000 taken prisoner, these figures being identical with those given by Plutarch at *Alexander* 11,12; he has argued from this that it is just as plausible to suppose that Diodorus' source is Aristobulus, who is undoubtedly Plutarch's source for the Timocleia episode in chapter 12. But, leaving aside the possibility that Plutarch may use different sources in the two chapters, or that Aristobulus uses Cleitarch, we find that Aelian in his *Varia Historia* (13,7) gives the same figures for killed and captured as Diodorus and Plutarch and, while there is no evidence that Aelian had read Aristobulus, he preserves no fewer than four "fragments" of Cleitarchus[42]. On balance, it seems likely that in his account of the revolt and destruction of Thebes Diodorus follows Cleitarchus rather than Aristobulus.

F 4 (= Harpocration *s.* ὁμηρεύοντας). In his lexicon of the Attic orators Harpocration cites Cleitarchus in his fifth book for the statement that the Spartans gave 50 hostages to Alexander[43]. This accords with Diodorus 73,5, who relates that following the suppression of the revolt of King Agis Antipater took 50 of the leading Spartans as hostages. If Cleitarchus refers to this event, the book number would seem to be corrupt, since F 3 refers to Theias of Byblos in the fifth book, presumably in connexion with Alexander's passage through Phoenicia in 332. The

[42] F 18; 19; 21; 22. Admittedly, all these come from a single book of the *NA*, and it might be thought that Aelian's acquaintance with Cleitarchus was limited to his account of India or to an excerptor of 'marvels' who used him. However, in *VH* 12,37 he relates in a fashion very similar to Diod. 17,82,3ff. how Alexander's men in the Hindu Kush discovered the native huts buried under the snow by their smoke. In *VH* 10,22, too, he tells the story of Dioxippus.

[43] The figure 50 does not occur in the text of Harpocration; it is added from the epitome of Harpocration used by the author of the *Suda*. There the best MS gives *ν'* = 50, while other MSS have *η'* or ὀκτώ.

alternative is to suppose that the book number is correct and that Cleitarchus refers to an earlier surrender of (possibly 8) hostages, perhaps before the revolt of Agis actually broke out. Arrian's silence about this surrender, supposing it to have occurred, is not material, but errors in book numbers are common enough and, even if the figure of 50 hostages is not beyond dispute, the Cleitarchan origin of Diodorus' statement seems probable.

F 9 (= Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 337A). Cleitarchus relates (in an explanation of the origin of 'sardonic laughter') how the Phoenicians and, especially, the Carthaginians swear to sacrifice a boy to Cronus (i. e. Moloch) on the successful outcome of some great enterprise[44]. Curtius (4,3,23) relates that during the siege of Tyre some of the Tyrians made a proposal, which was rejected by the elders, that they renew a sacrifice, which had been in abeyance for many years, of a free-born boy to Saturn (i. e. Cronus, Moloch). Although Curtius is not precise, there is no reason to believe that he does not refer to a Roman-type *votum* of the kind envisaged by Cleitarchus. It is perhaps worth pointing out, in view of Cleitarchus' reference to Carthaginians, that Curtius relates this proposal immediately following the arrival of Carthaginian envoys and mentions in the course of the paragraph that the Carthaginians carried out this child sacrifice until the fall of Carthage.

F 10 (= Diodorus 2,7,3). Diodorus cites Cleitarchus for the information that the circuit of the walls of Babylon measured 365 stades compared with the figure of 360 stades given by Ctesias. Borza (30) argues that the use of Cleitarchus by Diodorus in his second book proves nothing about his use of him in the seventeenth book, since it cannot be assumed that Diodorus has omitted a description of Babylon in that book because he remembered that he had described the city in the second book. This ignores the evidence of Curtius.

After the battle of Gaugamela Diodorus (64,3) relates that Alexander found 3,000 talents, no little barbaric dress and treasure at Arbela, then because of the stench of dead bodies on the plains near the city immediately advanced to Babylon. The account in Curtius (5,1,10–11) is precisely the

[44] Jacoby (*FGrHist* 2 B Komm., page 489) rejects the possibility that the Cleitarchus cited in the "fragment" is the glossographer from Aegina on the ground that he is "gewöhnlich" referred to as such or his work *On Glosses* is generally specified. I have no access to a collection of the glossographer's "fragments" and cannot tell how many exceptions there are to this practice. If the historian is meant in our passage, we may say that this anecdote *must* have been connected with the siege of Tyre.

same, except that he gives a figure of 4,000 talents. Diodorus deals in two sentences with Alexander's stay at Babylon, telling us only that "he remained in the city more than thirty days because food was plentiful and the population friendly". He omits Curtius' description of the city and the hanging gardens and his 'lurid description' of the entertainment and goes on to detail Alexander's civil and military arrangements. Then (65,1–2) we are told of the reinforcements that joined him after he had left the city. In Curtius (5,1,40f.) we are given details of the reinforcements which correspond *exactly* with Diodorus' figures, except that Curtius gives 380 cavalry from the Peloponnese instead of Diodorus' figure of "little less than 1,000"[45]. Then follow in Curtius Alexander's civil and military arrangements in slightly more detail than in Diodorus. Payments to the troops are identical and Curtius includes two minor points not mentioned by Diodorus[46]. The reason for Curtius' dealing with the reinforcements before Alexander's arrangements is obvious; the reinforcements serve to remedy the effects on the army of its debauchery (just described) – *ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret* (sc. *exercitus*), *identidem incremento renovabantur.*

We have, therefore, a situation in which Diodorus and Curtius follow a common source in describing events before Alexander reaches Babylon and a common source that describes his arrangements there and the reinforcements he received. Between these two passages Curtius gives a description of Babylon based on a source that agrees in several particulars with the source used by Diodorus in Book 2 to correct Ctesias, his main source, and identified in one instance as Cleitarchus[47], whereas Diodorus

[45] This discrepancy would seem to have resulted from a mistake in transmission. *DCCCLXXX* for *CCCLXXX* would be an easy correction in Curtius.

[46] Diodorus does not mention the appointment of Mazaeus as satrap of Babylonia or of Bagophanes, who surrendered the citadel of Babylon, as his subordinate. I suspect that the omissions are deliberate and are due to the fact that Diodorus has left out the narrative in which they are previously mentioned; see Curt. 5,1,17–19; 5,1,20.

[47] Diod. 2,7,2 = Curt. 5,1,24, Babylon founded by Semiramis; Diod. 2,7,3 = Curt. 5,1,26, circuit of walls 365 stades (= 137 F 10); Diod. 2,7,4 = Curt. 5,1,25, walls two chariots' width, 32 feet; Diod. 2,7,4 = Curt. 5,1,28, Euphrates checked by embankments; Diod. 2,8,6 = Curt. 5,1,31, circuit of citadel 20 stades; Diod. 2,10,1 = Curt. 5,1,35, king of Syria built hanging gardens.
Pearson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 230, notes that Diodorus and Curtius in the last instance use 'Syria' in the sense of 'Assyria', and draws attention to Cleitarchus' (137 F 2) use of 'Syrian' with reference to Sardanapalus. While the connexion is probable, Greek and Latin writers appear to have used 'Syrian' for 'Assyrian' quite commonly; see Strabo 16 C. 737 and, further, Madvig on Cic. *fin.* 2,106, and A. S. Pease on Cic. *div.* 1,91.

makes no attempt to describe the city of Babylon and its famous hanging gardens in his seventeenth book. I can see no alternative to the conclusion already drawn by Pearson (229), that "since Diodorus had already described it in Book II, he did not repeat his description in Book XVII"[48]. I do not find it difficult to believe that Diodorus remembered his description of Babylon in Book 2; it is not a matter of recalling details, but simply of remembering that he had previously described (at some length) a famous city. He might, it is true, have given a reference to Book 2, but the absence of such a reference proves nothing.

F 14 (= Demetrius *de elocutione* 304). In his story of Hyrcania (75,3–7) Diodorus tells of a winged animal, which is called *anthredon* and looks like a bee although it is smaller[49]. "It roams the mountains gathering nectar from every kind of flower. Dwelling in hollow rocks and lightning-blasted trees it forms combs of wax and fashions a liquor of surpassing sweetness, not far inferior to our honey" (trans. Welles).

Demetrius writes that Cleitarchus speaks of the *tenthredon*, an animal like a bee; "it roams the mountains" says Cleitarchus, "and flies into the hollow oaks". Demetrius continues with criticism of Cleitarchus for speaking of the *tenthredon* as if it were a wild bull or the Erymanthian boar. Tarn (2,90) holds that the words quoted from Cleitarchus (κατανέμεται τὴν ὀρεινήν) do not bear out this criticism and that therefore something must have been omitted from Demetrius' quotation, e. g. μεγίστην ἔχει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν[50]. But Tarn's suggestion that Demetrius' quotation is incomplete is unnecessary. Demetrius is commenting, I suggest, on Cleitarchus' use of the word κατανέμεται[51]. This means, as Diodorus' use of ἐπινεμόμενον suggests, "feeds on" or perhaps "inhabits". But the verb may also mean "ravage, plunder", and Demetrius so takes it here.

In any case it seems certain that Diodorus' source is Cleitarchus.

[48] Diodorus (2,7,3) writes that Ctesias' figure of 360 stades was corrected by "Cleitarchus and some of those who later crossed with Alexander". As Pearson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 229, and others have seen, Diodorus means 'later than Ctesias', and Pearson is almost certainly correct in thinking that he took the phrase over from Cleitarchus. But he is wrong (229 n. 71) in supposing that those who advocate an early date for Cleitarchus cannot interpret it as he does.

[49] I adopt Pearson's (*op. cit.* [n. 3], 220 n. 31) suggestion that μελίσσης should be read for the MSS μεγίστην.

[50] Tarn 2, 90 rightly objects to the alteration of ἐπιφάνειαν to ὠφέλειαν (Dindorf; Fischer), but his own defence of the MSS text is not convincing.

[51] Demetrius is writing of subject-matter being spoiled by unsuitable expression or language (ὀνομασία).

F 18 (= Aelian *NA* 17,2). Cleitarchus relates that in India there are snakes 16 cubits long as well as smaller varieties, some with bronze bands from head to tail, some like silver, some red, others golden. He adds that their bite is deadly and causes swift death. At 90,1 Diodorus refers in passing to snakes 16 cubits long, then proceeds to describe the extraordinary method of catching monkeys in that region. But in 90,6–7 he returns to the subject of snakes, in this case "small and variously coloured. Some of them looked like bronze rods, others had thick, shaggy crests, and their bites brought sudden death". This description tallies closely with F 18 of Cleitarchus and it is clear that Aelian, or his source, has combined the two parts of Cleitarchus' narrative dealing with snakes. Curtius also tells of snakes in two separate passages, those "of unheard-of size" at 9,1,4, and at 9,1,12 "snakes, whose scales shone with the brilliance of gold" and whose bite was followed by instant death if an antidote was not obtained. The fact that Diodorus and Curtius unquestionably depend on the same source makes it unlikely, to say the least, that Diodorus' source was Nearchus, although he writes of snakes 16 cubits long at Arrian *Indica* 15,10; he is quite probably the source of Cleitarchus.

F 19 (= Aelian *NA* 17,25). At 90,3 Diodorus describes how Indian hunters, taking advantage of the imitative propensities of the monkey, smear their own eyes with honey, put on sandals, and hang mirrors round their necks in full view of the animals. They then attach nooses to the sandals and the mirrors and substitute bird-lime for the honey before departing. When the monkeys come out and imitate the men, their eyelids are stuck together, they are held fast by feet and body and so rendered helpless and easily captured. According to Aelian's (rather corrupt) text Cleitarchus gave a precisely similar version, including the use of mirrors with nooses, except that at the end of the extract he seems to have thought of the monkeys as being blinded by their reflection in some way[52]. There can be little doubt that the source of Diodorus' story is Cleitarchus.

F 25 (= Curtius 9,8,15). Cleitarchus is named by Curtius as his source for the statement that in the territory of King Sambos 80,000 Indians[53] were killed and many others sold into slavery. The figure of 80,000 agrees with that given by Diodorus (102,6).

[52] Borza, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 35, is mistaken in thinking that Aelian did not speak of mirrors. Strabo 15 C. 698f. gives a more reasonable version of the story; see Pearson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 224 and n. 46. It throws no light on the source of Diodorus.

[53] This figure does not occur in the MSS of Curtius. All have 800,000, except P, which has 800. But editors are surely right to alter the figure to 80,000, even if they do so to agree with Diodorus' text.

F 26 (= Strabo 7 C. 293). Cleitarchus is criticised by Strabo for writing that Alexander's cavalry were almost overtaken when fleeing from the inrushing tide. This episode evidently took place at the mouth of the river Indus, for Curtius (9,9,25) relates that "the horsemen came fleeing for safety at top speed, and the tide followed".

F 27 (= Pliny *NH* 7,30). After writing that the Oreitae are separated from the Indians by the river Arabis, Pliny goes on to say that their only food was fish which they tore apart with their nails, baked in the sun and so made into bread. He gives Cleitarchus as his source.

At 103,3–5 Diodorus describes in Gedrosia a brutish people who never cut their nails and who live on the flesh of stranded whales. This is the same people that Curtius (9,10,8–10) calls "the Indians who live along the sea-coast"[54]. His description is very similar to Diodorus', but he adds that in addition to the flesh of larger animals cast up by the sea "they feed upon fish cured in the sun".

These people are evidently the 'Fish-eaters' *(Ichthyophagi)*, whose habits are narrated in detail by Nearchus in Arrian's *Indica* (29,9ff.), where we hear of the preparation of bread from the fish they have cured[55]. A little earlier (24,9) Nearchus mentions natives near the mouth of the river Tomeros (Hingol) with nails like claws which they used to tear their fish apart. These last lived within Oreitan territory (*Indica* 25,1), but the bulk of the 'Fish-eaters' lived along the coast to the west of the Oreitae. This is clear from the accounts given by Arrian (*Indica* 26,1–2) and Strabo (15 C. 721), who also explain that the Gedrosians lived 'above' (i. e. inland from) the territory of the 'Fish-eaters'.

There seems nothing against and much in favour of regarding Cleitarchus as the common source of Diodorus and Curtius. His account will have come from Nearchus.

F 29 (= Pliny *NH* 6,198). According to Pliny, Cleitarchus wrote that Alexander was informed of an island in the 'Red Sea' (i. e. Persian Gulf), whose inhabitants were so rich and so short of horses that they paid a golden talent apiece for horses brought from the mainland. Curtius (10,1,11) includes the same information in the report made to the king by Nearchus and Onesicritus.

[54] Curtius has just related the foundation of an Alexandria in Oreitan territory.

[55] This is a general description, occurring at the point where Nearchus and the fleet have reached the western end of the land of the 'Fish-eaters'; it includes the people mentioned at 24,9.

I have left to the end two "fragments" of Cleitarchus, whose statements Diodorus does not mention, although he might have been expected to do so.

F 24 (= Curtius 9,5,21). According to Curtius, Cleitarchus and Timagenes stated that Ptolemy was present at the attack on the town of the Mallians where Alexander sustained a near-fatal wound, but that Ptolemy wrote that he was absent on an expedition at that time. Diodorus (98–99) relates the incident in considerable detail but among those who saved the king he names only Peucestes; then he continues "after him (Peucestes) a good many appeared together . . .". All we may say is that either Diodorus does not use Cleitarchus at this point, or that he chooses deliberately (for reasons we can only conjecture) to reject his information, as Curtius explicitly does.

F 31 (= Pliny *NH* 3,57). Pliny says that according to Cleitarchus the Romans sent an embassy to Alexander. This presumably refers to the last year of Alexander's life when envoys from practically the entire inhabited world came to Babylon on various missions, as Diodorus (113,1) reports. He goes on to list the countries and peoples from which they came, but says nothing of the Romans. Again, if Diodorus deliberately omits the Romans, we cannot know what his motives were.

Apart from the named "fragments" of Cleitarchus, a further passage in Diodorus (103) may confidently be attributed to him. There he tells us that Ptolemy (among others) received a wound from a poisoned weapon during the attack on the Indian town of Harmatelia, and that his life was saved by Alexander. This episode is followed by a eulogy of Ptolemy. Curtius (9,8,18ff.) also includes the wounding and the eulogy in his *History*, and a comparison with Diodorus' version leaves no doubt that they draw on a common source – unlike Strabo[56], they place the incident in the territory of King Sambos, they think of swords (or at least weapons held in the hand) rather than arrows, and it is a snake, not a man, that appears to Alexander in a dream and tells him where to find the herb that will cure the sickness.

By itself the story would prove little, but both authors (although not Strabo) attach to it a formal eulogy, given in more detail by Diodorus, of Ptolemy. This means that it did not originate with Diodorus[57] or Curtius,

[56] On this whole episode see P. Goukowski, "Clitarque seul?" *REA* 71, 1969, 320–337, to whose article I am much indebted. Strabo tells the story at 15 C. 723, and Cic. at *div.* 2,135.

[57] Although he had visited Egypt; see 1,44. He describes Alexandria from autopsy at 17,52.

but that it goes back to their common source or further. Although Tarn (2,70f.) thinks that the snake "must have been Psois-Sarapis in his serpent form" and that "the story is propaganda for Sarapis", he thinks it unlikely that Ptolemy is responsible for this, but "more likely Diodorus got the serpent story from some writer (it could even be Cleitarchus, for it recurs in Curt. IX. 8. 26) who invented it to do honour to Ptolemy"[58]. The whole tenor of the story, as Goukowsky (327f.) has demonstrated, shows that the author intends to honour Ptolemy rather than Alexander, as Strabo does. What author is a more likely candidate than Cleitarchus, who was an Alexandrian and was called a "flatterer"?

I have only one point to add to Goukowsky's arguments (328ff.) in favour of his view that Cleitarchus is propagandising for Ptolemy. Curtius (9,8,22), although not Diodorus, states that Ptolemy was a blood-relation of Alexander and that "some believed him to be a son of Philip". Now the statement that Ptolemy was Philip's son occurs at Pausanias 1,6,2 in a Cleitarchan context; for there, as in Cleitarchus, Ptolemy is said to have helped to save Alexander's life at the Mallian town[59]. This fact may lend some support to the view that the eulogy of Ptolemy stems from Cleitarchus, but the other arguments seem to me sufficiently strong by themselves.

3. Summing-up. – Of the 36 named "fragments" of Cleitarchus, no fewer than 11 can be identified as the direct or indirect source of passages in Diodorus, although some doubt attaches to F 4 and, especially, F 1. This is a surprisingly high proportion when one considers the nature of the "fragments". With the exception of the three preserved by Diodorus and Curtius, none of them occurs in a historian. Exactly half of them come from the works of Aelian (4), Athenaeus (4), Pliny (5), and Strabo (5), the remainder mainly from various scholiasts, anthologists, and grammarians. It is not surprising, therefore, that historical events, where they are mentioned, are not dealt with in detail. This means, of course, that it is not possible to know precisely what Cleitarchus said and that, e. g., we cannot claim him (in F 11) as the source of the versions of the burning of the palace at Persepolis given by Diodorus and Curtius. What we may say is that, with two exceptions, the "fragments" do not run counter to their narratives.

[58] Goukowski, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 326, thinks that the snake is more probably the emissary of Ammon or perhaps the god himself.

[59] See Goukowski, 328 n. 3, for Cleitarchus' part in the story.

The situation is, then, that in a number of instances Diodorus or Curtius used Cleitarchus' book or, less probably, the work of an author whose work was closely based on Cleitarchus, and that for long stretches their narratives followed a common source in which information from Cleitarchus is embedded. It would seem a valid hypothesis, even if not a logical necessity, to conclude that their common source is Cleitarchus, or a writer based on him. To my mind this is converted into a near certainty by the evidence of the "eulogy of Ptolemy" and by the fact that Diodorus omits a description of Babylon in Book 17 after having described the city in Book 2 using Cleitarchus' data to correct Ctesias.

We cannot, perhaps, decide beyond doubt between the alternative possibilities that Diodorus' source was Cleitarchus or an author who drew on him, but the popularity of Cleitarchus in the late Roman republic and early empire should not be underestimated. In his work *On the Laws*[60] Cicero remarks that the historian Sisenna (*praetor* in 78 B. C.) seemed to have read only Cleitarchus among Greek historians, and it is clear from what he writes there and at *Brut.* 42 (= F 7) that Cicero had read Cleitarchus himself; moreover in a letter to Caelius Rufus (*fam.* 2,10,3) he gently mocks his friend for repeating what he had read in the Greek historian. The elder Pliny, too, must be supposed to have read Cleitarchus and he calls him *celebratus auctor*, "a much-read author", while Cleitarchus is one of the (few) Greek historians chosen by Quintilian (10,1,74) for comparison with the historians of Rome. There is no doubt, in fact, that Cleitarchus' history was readily available in Rome, and it is difficult to see why Diodorus, or Curtius for that matter, should have preferred a derivative work to the original[61].

Not enough is known of Diodorus' method of work in general, and we must agree with Borza (44f.) that further research on this subject is most desirable[62]. But, as far as can be seen at present, Diodorus appears to have followed a single main source, as Hieronymus in Books 18–20, or, if we accept Hammond's conclusions about Book 16, two sources used one after the other. "In no case, so far as we can see", he writes, "did Diodorus compare, conflate, or make parallel excerpts from two sources; he was

[60] Cic. *leg.* 1,7 (= 137 T 13).

[61] That Diodorus used Pompeius Trogus, a Romanised Gaul writing in Latin, as Welles, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 13, suggests, seems particularly unlikely.

[62] Sinclair, *op. cit.* (n. 3), has examined Books 15 to 17, and has concluded (45) that "all three are very different in character and that there is a need for careful examination of each book rather than for discussion based simply on sweeping assumptions about the whole work".

rather content to rely entirely upon his best standard author"[63]. It seems best, therefore, to conclude that throughout Book 17 Diodorus followed the source he shares with Curtius, and that in all probability this source is Cleitarchus. This does not rule out a contribution, perhaps a substantial contribution, by Diodorus himself. There is, for example, much to be said for the respective suggestions of Goukowsky (322ff.) and Tarn (2,120f.) that in his descriptions of the symptoms of the Macedonians wounded by the poisoned weapons of the Brahmins (103,4–5) and of the devices used by the defenders during the siege of Tyre (43–45) Diodorus was making use of technical Hellenistic works on poisons and on siege warfare. While we must agree with Tarn (2,87) that "Diodorus XVII is not Cleitarchus", much of Cleitarchus may be recovered from a comparison of the narratives of Diodorus and Curtius, provided that this is carried out with a proper appreciation of the individual characteristics and aims of the two writers[64].

[63] N. G. L. Hammond, "The Sources of Diodorus Siculus (Part i)", *CQ* 31, 1937, 79–91; "The Sources of Diodorus Siculus (Part ii)", *CQ* 32, 1938, 137–151. The words quoted occur at 149. Sinclair, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 40, is more cautious and would not rule out the possibility of "at least minor checking of the principal source by reference to another".

[64] I am much indebted to Professor Ernst Badian for his criticism of an early draft of this article which has led me to recast and expand it considerably. He should not be supposed necessarily to agree with the views expressed here.

N. G. L. Hammond

The Meaning and Significance of the Reported Speech of Phrynichus in Thucydides 8,48

In his studies of the Periclean period and in his *Griechische Geschichte* Fritz Schachermeyr marked the change which came about so swiftly in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War from idealising intelligence to egoistic subtlety in the leading figures of Athens. It reached a climax perhaps in the relations between Alcibiades and Phrynichus; for it was a case of diamond cut diamond, and the glitter of their cunning knavery seems to have fascinated Thucydides. Some thoughts on a particular speech attributed to Phrynichus about Alcibiades, as reported by Thucydides, are offered here in tribute and gratitude to Fritz Schachermeyr[1].

When Alcibiades was in favour with Tissaphernes, he reckoned that he could use this relationship to obtain his recall to Athens – "as indeed it happened", comments Thucydides. So he established contact with "the most powerful men" (8,47,2) among the Athenian troops at Samos and advocated a change of constitution at Athens from democracy to oligarchy, which he said would please the Great King and make it possible for him to win Persia over to the Athenian side. It so happened that "the trierarchs and the most powerful men" in the forces there were already eager to overthrow the democracy. Some of these persons then visited Alcibiades. On their return they were confident that, in view of what Alcibiades was promising, they – "the most powerful of the citizens" (8,48,1) – would bring the situation into their control and also prevail over the enemy. Accordingly they formed their associates into a conspiratorial group and told the masses openly that the Persian king would be their friend and provide them with money, if Alcibiades were recalled and democracy were abandoned (8,48,2). When the masses seemed to acquiesce, the conspirators considered among themselves and with most of

[1] I am most grateful to Professor H. D. Westlake and to Professor A. Andrewes who read this paper and made most helpful comments.

their partisans present what Alcibiades had promised and proposed. Everyone else thought his promises dependable and his proposals beneficial, but not a word of them pleased Phrynichus, who was still general (8,48,3–4).

At this point Thucydides gives in the form of a reported speech the opinions and the arguments which Phrynichus expressed to his fellow-conspirators and their partisans. We may infer from Thucydides' statement of his method at 1,22,1 that he learnt something of what Phrynichus actually said from one or more of those present (Phrynichus himself was assassinated some months later, 8,92,2), and that he may have added what he himself thought to be "essential points"[2]. As the interpretation of part of this speech is disputed, namely section 6, it is important to note some of the Thucydidean idioms of expression. The passage 8,48,3–8,49 is written as an entity, introduced and closed by the similar expressions οἱ ξυνιστάντες τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν and οἱ ξυλλεγέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ. The statement that nothing of the promises of Alcibiades pleased Phrynichus (48,4) is proved and then resumed (48,7). The proof is set out under four topics, each placed first in its sentence and connected with τε. The last of these concerns the opinions of the allied cities (48,6) which Phrynichus claimed to know well (48,5); when those opinions have been stated, a sentence of resumption is given (48,7)[3]. Hiatus of a violent kind is used to emphasise that the views are those of Phrynichus (lines 7 and 17 of the Oxford Classical Text), and to lay stress on the personal pronouns (lines 13; 17; 20; 22; 25)[4]. Thus we can see that the passage 8,48,3–8,49 is a piece of polished writing and not a set of rough notes. The ungrammatical attraction of ἄκριτοι to the nominative in 48,6 is a deliberate device to convey emphasis[5].

I now give my translation of the sections of which the interpretation is disputed – in direct speech, because in a language which lacks the indirect reflexive pronoun there is apt to be ambiguity in the meaning of pronouns in indirect speech.

[2] For my view on this passage see *The Speeches in Thucydides*, ed. P. A. Stadter, 1973, 49f.

[3] I discussed this form of exposition in *CQ* 2, 1952, 127f.

[4] *Ibid.* 129 for Thucydides' use of violent hiatus.

[5] The change from the accusative to the nominative is less remarkable than the changes from the genitive to the nominative at 5,41,2 and 8,104,4. Emendation as in Classen-Steup is unnecessary, and E. Delebecque, *Thucydide Livre VIII*, 65 keeps the traditional reading.

> "And with regard to the allied cities to which we have promised oligarchy, on the grounds that we ourselves shall also not be living under democracy, I am well aware that the cities in revolt will not join us any more for that, nor will those who are in the alliance be any the more loyal, because what they want will not be subjection whether under oligarchy or democracy rather than independence under whatever form of these constitutions they may be at the time. And as regards the so-called fine gentlemen, they consider that those fine gentlemen will cause them no less trouble than the *Demos* [of Athens] does, these gentlemen being purveyors and proposers of the disasters to the *Demos* from which they (i. e. the members of the allied cities) are reaping the advantages for the most part; and [they consider] that, as far as it might be within the power of those [fine gentlemen], they would be executed without trial[6] and with greater brutality [than under the *Demos*], whereas the *Demos* is a refuge for them and a corrector of the fine gentlemen. That this is what the cities consider to be the case, basing their considerations on the facts themselves, I myself know clearly. So for myself at any rate I take no pleasure at all in Alcibiades' proposals and in the negotiations of the moment" (8,48,5–7).

Phrynichus here describes under two aspects the effects that a change from democracy to oligarchy at Athens would have on the allied states. First, it would make no difference in the attitude of an allied state to Athens, because what the ally wants is independence from Athens. Second, the allies would rather have a democracy at Athens than an oligarchy at Athens, because the failures of democracy are giving most benefit to the allies and one characteristic of an oligarchy would be a ruthless suppression of the allies. Phrynichus claims to know that the allies were basing their opinion upon what had already happened. He and his hearers will have had in mind the great disasters in Egypt and very recently in Sicily, which enabled many allies to assert their independence and forced Athens to be more lenient in her treatment of those who could not escape[7]. If the prophecy of Phrynichus about the ruthlessness of "the fine gentlemen" was inspired by Thucydides' own knowledge of subsequent events (as some have supposed), then it was well founded; for "the fine gentlemen" who led the Thirty Tyrants at Athens executed and banished thousands without the formality of a trial, and in the allied states the oligarchic decarchies established by Sparta were no less ruthless.

[6] The point is that the allies were normally put on trial under the *Demos*.

[7] As R. Meiggs put it in *JHS* 63, 1943, 30: "Athens is too preoccupied or too weak to enforce regular payment" after the disaster in Egypt. (Cf., however, Meiggs' reconsidered judgement in his *Athenian Empire*, 1972, especially 118.)

Who were "the so-called fine gentlemen"? Clearly Alcibiades was the most prominent in the minds of Phrynichus and his hearers. He was labelled at his introduction into Thucydides' history with the phrase "honoured for the prestige of his ancestors" (5,43,2; cf. 6,16,1), and his way of life was flagrantly aristocratic in the worst sense of the word (6,12,2 and 6,15,3–4)[8]. Moreover, he had been a "purveyor and proposer of the disasters to the *Demos*" both in the Peloponnese and in Sicily. Others had been associated with him in the desecration of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Hermae, at least in the mind of the Athenians, and there were active partisans of Alcibiades at Athens who were working for his recall (8,48,4). Alcibiades and his cronies were not committed oligarchs; rather, as Phrynichus pointed out (l. c.) and as Thucydides confirmed with his own words "and indeed it was so" (l. c.), Alcibiades wanted power – tyrannical power if possible – under whatever constitution, and men like Critias were of the same kind[9]. Phrynichus realised that Alcibiades and his fellows were as great a danger to any oligarchy as they were to the democracy. It was important to correct and discipline these "fine gentlemen", as the *Demos* had recently done by executing after trial and condemning to death *in absentia* those who had been implicated in the desecration of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Hermae, Alcibiades being among them. Phrynichus in fact was concerned with three groups at Athens: oligarchic conspirators, democrats in power, and the "fine gentlemen" who were a threat to both[10]. And he asserted that the allies too were aware of the danger which Alcibiades and his fellows constituted for them.

As my interpretation of this passage is apparently a novel one, I turn aside now to consider other interpretations point by point. Commentators

[8] F. Schachermeyr, *Griech. Gesch.*, ²1969, 199 and 226, has pointed out the change in the attitude towards aristocratic birth which took place in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War: "eine höchst bedeutsame Wandlung im Verhältnis des Individuums zu den ererbten Bindungen" (*op. cit.* 199).

[9] Critias acted as a democratic agitator in Thessaly (Xenoph. *Hell.* 2,3,36) and as an oligarchic leader in Athens.

[10] G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 1972, 371ff., has a valuable note on the uses of οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί. Referring to this passage in Thucydides and other passages in Xenophon and Plato, he thinks the use is "social-political" and adds that "these are the members of the upper classes, 'the Best People'"; but he does not enlarge upon the political meaning in this case. "The fine gentlemen" called the democrats *poneroi*, and it is a sign of Alcibiades' being one of the former that Thucydides puts on Alcibiades' lips the words οὐ πονηρίᾳ οὐδὲ δημοκρατίᾳ τῇ αὑτὸν ἐκβαλούσῃ (8,47,2); and the same idea had appeared already twice in a set speech by Alcibiades at Sparta (6,89,5, and 6,92,3, τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας).

have translated τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους as "the aristocracy" (T. Arnold), "optimates" (Bétant and Poppo), "eos qui honesti probique vocantur" (Baver), "the so-called nobility" (Jowett), and "the so-called men of honor and virtue" (Brunt, revising Jowett); and they have then identified them with those "qui paucorum dominatus essent studiosi" (Baver), "the oligarchy" (Jowett), "the oligarchs" (Brunt) and "die Oligarchen" (Classen-Steup). To support such an identification Classen-Steup and others have cited Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2,3,12 and 15. But Thucydides is not Xenophon. He does not use empty periphrases for their own sake, as the journalistic Xenophon does, and he has no aversion to saying οἱ ὀλίγοι when he means it, as at 8,66,5 and 8,97,2. He used the expression τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους of set purpose, and only here in a political sense. The addition of "so-called" has a pejorative sense which is well caught by Baver and Brunt; but it is pejorative on the lips of Phrynichus, not of Thucydides. However, if the "so-called fine gentlemen" are in fact the very oligarchs whom Phrynichus – himself an oligarchic conspirator[11] – was addressing, it is very odd, if not incredible, that he should use this sarcastic tone of them to their faces.

The words "purveyors and proposers of the disasters to the *Demos*" (8,48,6) have been interpreted in two ways. One is that the oligarchs were "purveyors and proposers of the disasters to the *Demos*" (e. g. Baver "duces et auctores . . . calamitatum reipublicae", and Poppo "populo suasores atque auctores essent malorum"); and the other is that the oligarchs were "purveyors and proposers" of the measures and atrocities[12] committed by the *Demos* against the allies (e. g. Classen-Steup ". . . alle harten und tyrannischen Maßregeln, namentlich gegen die Bundesgenossen"; and Jowett "they were the persons who suggested crimes to the popular mind; who provided the means for their execution"; and Brunt "it was they who prompted and proposed to the people the

[11] As Thucydides stressed later, Phrynichus was a particularly zealous oligarch. The statement that "he was still general" (8,48,4) seems to be made to keep the record straight, because Phrynichus was soon afterwards relieved of office by the *Demos* (8,54,3). I do not see any grounds for the view of J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 1951, 234 that Phrynichus at this stage was "un démocrate actif", and that in tricking Astyochus he was a defender of democracy.

[12] The words τὰ κακά often mean disasters or injuries, as in the proverbial Λήμνια κακά (cf. Kinzl, *Miltiades-Forschungen*, 1968, 121–129). Earlier in this reported speech (at 8,48,4 *fin.*) it was used in this sense, and Thucydides described the disaster in Sicily with the words κακοπαθήσαντες (7,87,6) and τὴν μεγάλην κακοπραγίαν (8,2,1). The moral sense of the word seems less appropriate in the context here.

measures injurious to the allies"). The words πορισταί and ἐσηγηταί were used only here in the history of Thucydides[13], but we have an exact parallel for the latter in Hyperides 4,3. The meaning then can be "proposers [to the state] of the [measures] disastrous to the *Demos*", when "proposer" is used without "to the state", as the corresponding verb is in Thucydides for instance at 4,76,2 and 6,99,2. But if the meaning is to be, as Jowett and Brunt have suggested, that they proposed to the *Demos* measures disastrous to the allies, then this surely has been expressed not quite aptly by Thucydides.

There is another yardstick of the meaning, which arises from the allies basing their view upon incidents in the past. Who in fact had proposed to the *Demos* the measures disastrous to the allies? Surely Pericles himself in the stealing of the allied treasury, the conversion to empire, the treatment of Samos, and the deportation of the Aeginetans, and Cleon in the increase of the tribute and the proposal to execute the adult males of Mytilene and Scione. Not the "fine gentlemen" in Phrynichus' sense of the words! Jowett tried (in vain) to cover the weakness of his interpretation when he wrote as follows in 2,489: "The oligarch Phrynichus himself acknowledges that the allies had no reason to expect any alleviation of their lot from a change of government. For the injustices which the Athenian people had committed against them were instigated by oligarchical leaders. Yet there is little in the history of Athens, so far as it is known to us, which justifies such a statement". Quite the contrary in fact; for Cimon and Thucydides, son of Melesias, who were oligarchic in opposing the democratic policies, chose to defend the allies against exploitation.

There is a typical Thucydidean contrast at 8,46,6, where what damages one benefits another. On my interpretation what damages the *Demos* at Athens benefits the allies. On other interpretations what damages the *Demos* (or the allies) benefits the oligarchs. Yet it is difficult to see that this was so, except in some indirect sense; for the proposals to help Inaros in Egypt or Segesta in Sicily did not "benefit the oligarchs for the most part", nor did such acts as the seizure of the allied treasury or the *andrapodismos* of Scione "benefit the oligarchs for the most part". These interpretations seem to involve a *non sequitur*.

Next the commentators take ἐκείνοις and ἐκείνων (lines 25 and 27 of the Oxford Classical Text) to refer to the oligarchs. Here too it seems

[13] It is unlikely that the word πορισταί was used in the technical sense of members of the financial board at Athens; rather is means "creating the occasions" (as Jowett 2,490).

surprising for the oligarch Phrynichus to tell his oligarchic associates that if the oligarchs obtain power then in the opinion of the allies they will execute the allies without trial and more brutally than the *Demos* had done. I prefer to think that Phrynichus was talking of "the fine gentlemen" like Alcibiades and not of himself and other oligarchs. Then the three examples of αὐτούς in 48,5–6 all refer to the people of the allied states; ἐκείνοις and ἐκείνων in 48,6 refer to "the fine gentlemen"; and σφᾶς, σφῶν and σφίσι refer always to the immediate speaker[14].

Why did Thucydides include this report of Phrynichus' speech to his fellow-conspirators in his history? What Phrynichus said had no historical effect whatsoever, because the conspirators simply disregarded his words and went ahead, "as they originally intended" (8,49), with their plan to recall Alcibiades. The failure of Phrynichus to convince the others led to his tricks with Astyochus; but it would have been sufficient to say that he had failed, and there was no need to go into what he said. Thucydides, it seems, had reasons not integral to the historical narrative for including a report of his views and arguments.

One reason was certainly his interest in the intelligence of Phrynichus. He introduced Phrynichus as one of three generals in command during the attack on Miletus (8,25,1). When a Spartan fleet came up intending to relieve Miletus, his fellow-commanders wanted to fight it out at sea but Phrynichus prevailed upon them, although he was in the minority[15], to sail away and fight another day. Thucydides then added the comment "as he convinced them, so he acted, and thus not more now than afterwards, nor in this alone but in all else that involved him, he seemed to be not unintelligent" (8,27,5; cf. 2,34,6). On that occasion Thucydides reported in

[14] Another interpretation of the passage was advanced during a discussion in a seminar held by Professor M. I. Finley in Cambridge. This involved equating "the so-called fine gentlemen" with the oligarchs – but with the oligarchs in the allied states, and made them cause more trouble to the allies than the *Demos* in an allied state, and it was these oligarchs in the allied states who benefited for the most part from the disasters to the *Demos* in the allied states, which they themselves promoted and introduced. The next sentence also, about the *Demos* being the haven of the allies and the chastiser of the oligarchs, has to be concerned with conditions in the allied states. One objection to this interpretation is that the topic of the allied states has already been dealt with in 48,5. The new topic is "the so-called fine gentlemen", and the phrase in itself carries no association with the allied states.

[15] He must have been a man of strong personality to impose his will on his colleagues at Miletus. When he ordered the fortifying of Samos (8,51,1), he may have been the only one of the generals on the spot; for Thucydides emphasised his right to issue this order.

indirect speech what Phrynichus said to his colleagues, one or other of whom was presumably Thucydides' informant[16]. The arguments are reported in the close-set rhetorical style of Thucydides, and the chief point is made with violent hiatus (8,27,2). The effect of the speech on the reader is to make him see why Phrynichus wanted not to engage and why he was judged by Thucydides to be "not unintelligent". In this way Thucydides expressed incidentally what he himself thought were the essential factors in the situation.

Thucydides' all-embracing praise of Phrynichus as a man of intelligence accordingly is designed to lead us to accept Phrynichus' remarks at 8,48 (which we have been considering) as sensible. Then in his list of able oligarchs Thucydides said of Phrynichus: "He showed himself zealous above all others in the cause of oligarchy, being afraid of Alcibiades and aware that Alcibiades knew all he had done with Astyochus at Samos, and reckoning that in all probability no oligarchy would ever recall Alcibiades. Indeed he showed himself to be far the most dependable in a crisis, once he entered the movement" (8,68,3). Finally when the ranks of the oligarchs began to split, Thucydides singled out Phrynichus first among the leading opponents of any democracy and first among "the most powerful" of the Four Hundred (8,90,1)[17]; and the extremists sent Antiphon and Phrynichus at the head of an embassy which sought a settlement with the Spartans. On all these occasions then Phrynichus was judged by Thucydides to be "not unintelligent". There is no suggestion by Thucydides that to be an extreme oligarch in these years was to show any lack of intelligence.

Of the four topics discussed by Phrynichus at Samos Thucydides comments favourably on the first, that is Alcibiades' indifference on the constitutional issue and desire simply for recall: "and indeed it was so", he adds (8,48,4). Under this topic Phrynichus makes the point that the oligarchic conspirators must avoid dissension among themselves (such as would arise if Alcibiades were recalled); and the same point is well illustrated by Thucydides' own analysis of the dissensions among the oligarchs at Athens when Alcibiades became powerful at Samos (8,89 and especially 8,89,3). The view of Phrynichus on the second topic, namely

[16] His colleagues were Onomacles and Scironides; the former may be the man of that name whom Xenophon included in his list of the Thirty Tyrants.

[17] The prominence of Phrynichus is attested also by Aristoph. *Frogs* 689, Lysias 25,9, and Aristotle *pol.* 1305b 27.

that it was in Persia's interest to befriend Sparta, was in direct contrast to the view of Alcibiades – a view which Alcibiades thought to be the best one, said Thucydides at 8,47,1 –, that it was in Persia's interest to side with Athens ultimately (8,46,3). On the next topic, the ineffectiveness of installing oligarchies in the allied states which were interested only in freeing themselves from the rule of Athens, Phrynichus wins the full approval of Thucydides, who later made the very same point in his own words at 8,64,5, remarking that the outcome at Thasos and elsewhere was "the opposite of what the oligarchic conspirators had expected" Phrynichus in fact was the intelligent exception. The last topic is an intricate one, namely Phrynichus' view of the allies' view of what the rise to power of "the so-called fine gentlemen" at Athens would mean for the allies. As we have seen, Phrynichus was referring to Alcibiades and his partisans. Here too Phrynichus and Thucydides seem to be of one mind in supposing them to be aiming at a ruthless tyrannical rule (6,15,4 of Alcibiades; cf. 6,60,1), to have brought disaster on the democracy (6,15,3 and again 6,15,4), and likely to treat the allies more ruthlessly than the *Demos* had done, if they should come to power. On this last point Thucydides gave a hint perhaps in saying how quickly the Thasians tired of "the aristocracy with Athenians" (8,64,3), a somewhat sarcastic phrase with a back-reference to the only other passage where *aristokratia* was used, 3,82,8. If Thucydides had been able to complete his history, he might have provided evidence that Phrynichus and the allies were both correct in their estimate of "the so-called fine gentlemen".

Phrynichus himself was not a "fine gentleman". Indeed [Lysias] 20,11–12 described him as a country lad, a shepherd for a time, and then in Athens a *sykophantes* before he became an oligarchic conspirator[18]. As a self-made man Phrynichus had some reason to label those who had been born with a silver spoon in their mouths "the so-called fine gentlemen". Moreover, to have risen from the bottom to the top by sheer intelligence was something which impressed Thucydides, as we can see from his estimate of another *novus homo*, Themistocles, at 1,138,3: "By his own native capacity, alike unformed and unsupplemented by study, he was at once the best judge in those sudden crises which admit of little or no deliberation, and the best prophet of the future, even to its most distant

[18] Even allowing for some exaggeration G. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 3,2,1412 (cf. 1413 n. 1) called Phrynichus "ein Emporkömmling".

possibilities"[19]. It may then be that Thucydides wrote 8,48 for one reason only, to show the intelligence of Phrynichus.

My personal belief is that Thucydides had other reasons too. One was to convey to his readers some paradoxical truths through the mouth of a man whom they had been told to respect as "not unintelligent". Thus they learn the wisdom of Athens' avoiding action while recovering from her disasters and the true meaning of disgrace at such a time (8,27); the true purpose of Alcibiades; the need to keep the oligarchs united by excluding that fomenter of division, Alcibiades; the true interest of Persia, being to befriend Sparta; the overriding desire of the allies for freedom, whatever constitution Athens might give them; and the realisation by the allies that the rule of the *Demos* was less harsh than that of Alcibiades and his fellows would be (8,48). On the two occasions when Phrynichus put forward these views, he differed radically from his colleagues. Ordinary people too did not share his opinions. They thought, for instance, that Alcibiades was a convinced oligarch, that Persia would befriend Athens through his influence, and that there would be plenty of Persian pay for the sailors (8,48,1–3). They thought too that oligarchies in the allied states would support an oligarchy at Athens, on the principle that "like is loyal to like", as "The Old Oligarch" believed ([Xenoph.] *Ath. Pol.* 1,14 and 3,10). It seems, then, that Thucydides used these two reported speeches to illuminate the essential issues of the Decelean War, even as he had used set speeches in the Archidamian War. Thus the definition of content which he gave in 1,22,1 was equally applicable to speeches reported in *oratio recta* and to speeches reported in *oratio obliqua.*

Another reason, it seems to me, is Thucydides' sympathy for Phrynichus and for others like him. To say that Phrynichus seems to be "not unintelligent" in all that involved him (8,27,5) would not be possible for a convinced democrat; for the oligarchic zeal of Phrynichus (8,68,3) would seem to him a sign of delusion. But then Thucydides was not a convinced democrat at this stage in the war. His outspoken praise of the moderate oligarchy of the Five Thousand (8,97,2) is evidence of that. In 8,48,1 he made a revealing remark about "the most powerful of the citizens" (in the forces at Samos) who included the trierarchs and the

[19] The translation is by R. Crawley. Thucydides' praise of Themistocles and Phrynichus ran counter to the opinion of many. As H. D. Westlake has remarked in *BRL* 56, 1973, 195, Thucydides "was confident, perhaps overconfident, in his own judgement, and evidently derived satisfaction from pronouncing unorthodox views on controversial topics". Phrynichus had similar qualities.

general Phrynichus (8,47,2 and 8,48,4): "and indeed they do have a particularly hard time of it"[20]. The meaning of the remark may be seen from "The Old Oligarch" who said, at 1,13, that the rich men, being *choregi,* trierarchs and gymnasiarchs, grew poorer as the members of the *Demos* grew richer, and at 2,18, that the writers of comedy in the democracy attacked the rich, the high-born and the powerful. The occasion of the remark is striking: it is inserted when "the most powerful of the citizens had high hopes that they would themselves bring the situation into their own hands and in addition prevail over their enemies". The remark is, strictly speaking, irrelevant, but it is surely inserted to justify their intention of overthrowing the democracy and seizing power. Such sympathy is not perhaps surprising in Thucydides. For he too had been one of "the most powerful of the citizens", had held office as general, and presumably regarded himself as hard done by under the rule of the *Demos.*

[20] This aside is similarly worded to the asides by Thucydides at 8,47,1 and 8,48,4. Goodhart seems to be mistaken in making it part of the expressed hopes of the most powerful of the citizens.

Sinclair Hood

Minoan Town-Shrines?

The best short account of ancient Cretan religion, sound in judgement as it is accurate in detail, is Chapter 17 of Fritz Schachermeyr's *Die minoische Kultur des alten Kreta* (1964). It is therefore with some trepidation that I venture to offer him the following speculative paper in which I shall try to suggest that shrines which were essentially public in character existed in some Cretan settlements from early in the Bronze Age and throughout the flourishing period of the Minoan civilization before Mainland influence became strong in Crete after *ca* 1450 B. C.

The eight possible examples of such shrines which I shall discuss are at Gournia (1), Fournou Korifi (Mirtos) (2), Ayia Triadha (3), Koumasa (4), Mallia (5) and (6), on Pseira (7), and at Palaikastro (8). In addition I shall consider the temple at Ayia Irini on Kea (9) for comparative purposes, and two possible shrines at Rousses (10) and Kannia (11) which may not have been connected with settlements. I shall not concern myself with the period after the end of Late Minoan I, *ca* 1450 B. C., although in several instances (e. g. [3], [9]) cult was continued, or in the case of (1), (4) and (11), is thought to have continued, in these shrines or in restored versions of them during Late Minoan III.

I understand by a public shrine a building or roofed structure set apart for cult and having its own entrance from the outside world, not incorporated in a dwelling house or palace and approached through it. Some public shrines were evidently free-standing with paths or open spaces all around them like (1) and (9) and perhaps (3) and (7); but others, e. g. (2), (5), (6), although forming independent units with separate entrances, appear to have had one or more of their outside walls built against those of other structures, from which, however, there was no access. The inference is that these shrines, unlike the domestic ones inside palaces and houses, served a wider public than a single family or household, whether the population of the settlement at large, or a section of it united by ties of kinship or initiation.

There has been a tendency to assume that the only true public sanctuaries in the period before *ca* 1450 B. C. were away from the settlements on the tops of hills (peak sanctuaries) or in caves. Shrines in the settlements were on this assumption basically private in character, and virtually confined to the palaces and great houses. This idea has prevailed, in spite of its inherent improbability in the light of the situation elsewhere in the civilized world of the Near East at the time, and in spite of the fact that evidence from the earliest days of Cretan excavation was against it, in the shape of the shrine (1) found at Gournia in 1901.

The strength of this idea no doubt owes much to the authority of Evans and Nilsson. Thus Evans includes the shrine at Gournia among "little household sanctuaries"[1]; while Nilsson observes: "In the Minoan civilization no temples are found, if by temple we mean a separate building set apart to be the abode of the deity and to shelter its image and paraphernalia . . . The gods were venerated under roofs built by human hands, but all cult places of this kind are parts of a human habitation, small chambers in a house or palace"[2]. The cults in question must therefore be considered domestic cults. Moreover, the deities venerated in these cults, notably the Snake Goddess, were probably different from those worshipped in the peak sanctuaries and in caves. Nilsson did indeed admit that the shrine at Gournia seemed to be a public sanctuary, but argued that it was the only one known, and that it must have originated in the domestic cult[3].

Picard took a similar view, but stated it in a less extravagant manner, saying – what is still essentially true – that in Bronze Age Crete there are no structures resembling Classical Temples, but admitting that the shrine at Gournia, in spite of its small size, appeared to be public[4]. Banti went rather further than this, arguing that in Late Minoan I after *ca* 1550 B. C. cult began to become independent of palaces and houses and to lose the private character which it had formerly had[5]. Rutkowski takes a somewhat similar line in his valuable monograph on Aegean cult places, noting that

[1] Abbreviations: *Gournia* = H. B. Hawes, *Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra*, 1908. – *MMR*² = M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, ²1950. – *PoM* = A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 1926–36 (repr. 1964).
See *PoM* 4,143.

[2] *MMR*² 77.

[3] *MMR*² 80.

[4] C. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques*, 1948, 70.

[5] L. Banti, *ASAtene* 3/4, 1941/43, 45. Cf. *MMR*² 77 n. 1.

cult in palaces and houses was a matter of private concern, and only later became a public affair. When it did, however, it retained nearly all the features of private cult[6].

But the fact is that, although many domestic shrines have been identified in Crete, especially in the palaces and great houses of the period from *ca* 1600–1450 B. C., there is nothing to suggest that every house possessed a shrine. Moreover such domestic shrines appear to be if anything less in evidence during Early and Middle Minoan times than they are later. Branigan indeed has gone so far as to propose that the great development of domestic sanctuaries in palaces and houses occurred at a relatively late stage[7]. But whereas Nilsson had assumed that the deities venerated in domestic cult were different from those worshipped in caves and peak sanctuaries, Branigan argues that the goddess of the peak sanctuaries was the same as the Snake Goddess of the household shrines, to which her worship was transferred and which largely replaced them.

The idea that shrines of a public character were more common in the settlements of Bronze Age Crete than has usually been supposed is not altogether new. Poursat for instance hinted as much in his careful publication of the shrine (5) at Mallia described below[8]. More recently Rutkowski has remarked that possibly there were temples in every town of Crete[9]. But he accepts that the main cult places were in the country, away from towns and villages[10]; and the shrine at Gournia is the only building of the period before *ca* 1450 B. C. which he allows in the category of temple[11].

(1) *Gournia* (Pl. A, 1)[12]. – The town here was excavated over seventy years ago in three campaigns (1901, 1903 and 1904). It remains the most completely revealed Bronze Age settlement of any size or importance in Crete, and this may have something to do with the fact that the most obvious and striking example of a Minoan town-shrine is here.

The shrine is in the centre of the town on the slope of the hill just below the palace. It stands at the end of a paved lane 1.50 m wide leading

[6] B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Warsaw 1972, 257.
[7] K. Branigan, "The Genesis of the Household Goddess", *StMicenei* 8, 1969, 29–38.
[8] *BCH* 90, 1966, 551.
[9] Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 215. Cf. "Temple and Cult Statue in the Aegean World", in: *Acts of the Third Cretological Congress*, 1, 1973, 290ff. Also B. C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, 1974, 142.
[10] Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 72; 303; 311.
[11] *Ibid.*, 325.
[12] *Gournia* 26; 47.

to it from one of the main streets. It consists of a single room measuring *ca* 3 × 4 m across the inside. Three steps led up into the entrance, which was towards the northern end of one of the long sides of the building. An irregularly shaped bench may have occupied the southern end of the room.

It was noted by the excavators that the stones of the lane which led to the shrine were much worn[13], as if by the passage of many feet over a period of time. Mrs Boyd Hawes states that during the period of Reoccupation in Late Minoan III after the disaster which overwhelmed the town *ca* 1450 B.C. "the need of paved roads was not felt"[14], since they were no longer required for communication between the few scattered houses which constituted the new settlement. In some places indeed roads were found blocked by cross-walls built during the Reoccupation period.

All this might suggest that the shrine was not only built during the Town period, but was destroyed along with the rest of the town in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C. and never afterwards restored or reused. Mrs Williams says that no evidence was forthcoming that the part of the hill where the shrine lay was reoccupied after the destruction of the town then. But she reserved judgement about the date of the contents of the shrine, since no pottery or other finds that could easily be dated were recovered from it[15]. It produced "numerous coarse fragments" of pottery; and from above the floor in the north-east corner were recovered a low plaster-coated three-legged table of offerings and a clay figure of a goddess entwined with snakes, together with fragments of other clay figures and the bases of tubular utensils. The latter, which Evans called snake-tubes[16], were probably employed as stands for bowls of offerings as Mrs Williams suggested at the time[17].

It has been argued that clay figures made on the fast potter's wheel like those from the Gournia shrine and clay stands of the "snake-tube" variety did not make their appearance in Crete until after the end of Late

[13] *Gournia* 47.

[14] *Gournia* 23.

[15] *Gournia* 47. The vase in the shape of a pregnant woman assigned by V. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, 1964, 189, to the shrine was actually found in E 58 some distance away to the south-west (*Gournia* 46 n. 11).

[16] *PoM* 4, 140ff. Note that according to a report which Evans heard from Seager (*PoM* 4, 143 n. 6) the base of one of these was not in fact discovered standing on top of the table of offerings as implied by *Gournia* 47 pl. 9.

[17] *Gournia* 48. Cf. Banti, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 33. G. Cadogan, "Clay Tubes in Minoan Religion", in: *Acts of the Third Cretological Congress*, 1, 1973, 34–38.

Minoan I[18]. Many wheel-made figures of goddesses and tubular clay stands have indeed been recovered from contexts of the Late Minoan III period, notably at Gazi near Heraklion[19]. But it is becoming clear that wheel-made goddess figures were in fact already in existence in Crete as early as Late Minoan I[20], while tubular stands have been found in indisputable Late Minoan I and even in Middle Minoan contexts[21]. A careful study of the mouldings round the bases of the tubes from Gournia might one day settle the question of their date. Until then it is a matter for debate whether the contents of the shrine and the end of its use are to be assigned to Late Minoan I or Late Minoan III[22]. The building itself, however, must surely go back to the Town period at Gournia before the destruction in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C.

(2) *Fournou Korifi (Mirtos)* (Pl. A, 2). – This site 3 km east of Mirtos Village is the only large Early Minoan settlement which has been excavated in extent. The excavations here in 1967–68 have therefore done for the Early Minoan period what those at Gournia have done for Late Minoan I. A group of four rooms (89–92) in the south-western corner of the site had evidently served as a shrine[23]. The western side of this had disappeared owing to erosion. There was no sign of a door leading into the eastern room 89, and it might have been entered from above by means of a ladder like several other rooms in the settlement. Against the east wall of this room was an arrangement of benches flanking a hearth, perhaps for sacrifices. Part of a human skull was recovered from above one of three steps in the floor here.

Remains of grapes were identified in a bowl resting on a stand in the north-west corner of the little room 90, and a large spouted tub which may have been placed on the bench next to it could have been employed for crushing grapes for the production of wine used in the rites of the shrine. Room 91 connecting with 90 was evidently for storage. A large number of vases was recovered from 90 and from the adjacent room 92, which must have been the main cult room. A remarkable clay figure of a woman,

[18] S. Marinatos, *ArchEph* 1937, 1, 289. Developed by S. Alexiou, *Ἡ μινωϊκὴ θεὰ μεθ' ὑψωμένων χειρῶν*, Heraklion 1958.

[19] Marinatos, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 278–291.

[20] E. g. Y. G. Tzedakis, "A Minoan 'Goddess' Idol from Sakhtouria", *BSA* 62, 1967, 203–205.

[21] Cadogan, *op. cit.* (n. 17). *BCH* 90, 1966, 524; 535 fig. 19.

[22] Cf. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 216 and n. 3.

[23] P. Warren, *Myrtos: an Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete*, 1972, 81 ff.

apparently a goddess, holding a jug, was found near a stand or altar against the east wall of 92[24].

The figure has been called the earliest instance of the Minoan Household Goddess, and the shrine is described in the report as a household one. The rooms in question certainly formed part of a larger building complex. But the whole settlement was virtually a single complex of rooms, with very few obvious paths running between them. At the same time these four rooms (89–92) appear to have been the only ones which served a specialized religious or ritual function. The situation here is therefore strikingly different from that which existed at Neolithic Çatal Hüyük, where at least 40, and probably more, out of a total of 139 living rooms excavated, had evidently served religion and were classified by the excavator as shrines[25]. The implication is that the shrine at Fournou Korifi was essentially public, catering for the whole community which inhabited the settlement.

(3) *Ayia Triadha* (Pl. A, 3)[26]. – This appears to have been a free-standing shrine comparable with that at Gournia. The complete plan is not entirely certain, but the inner cult room with a bench against the back wall may have been approached through a pair of double doors from an anteroom like the later shrine on the same spot. The floor was of plaster decorated with a marine scene incorporating dolphins and other fish and an octopus. From above it were recovered a few clay vases and fragments of three tubular stands.

The shrine was built at the very end of the Middle Minoan period or early in Late Minoan I[27], and it was eventually destroyed by fire, probably by the same fire as that which overwhelmed the neighbouring palace in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C. The dating was established by careful excavation in 1939 and is beyond serious doubt[28]. The shrine was afterwards rebuilt on the same lines as before with a new bench against the back wall and the floor some 15 cm higher. The floor was later raised once again, and the shrine remained in use into Late Minoan III B.

(4) *Koumasa.* – One of the few Bronze Age settlements bordering the Mesara plain which has received anything more than the most cursory ex-

[24] *Ibid.*, 86f.; 209f. P 704.
[25] J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, 77.
[26] Banti, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 28–40. *MMR*[2] 96ff.
[27] L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta*, 1947, 36.
[28] E. g. F. Schachermeyr, *Die minoische Kultur des alten Kreta*, 1964, 159. *MMR*[2] 96ff. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 239f.; 245.

amination is that at Koumasa. It occupied a hill with two peaks known as Korakies above the cemetery with the early circular tombs. Xanthoudides made trials here in 1907 and described the pottery which he found as Middle Minoan and "some even Late Minoan"[29]. A shrine with several rooms was identified on one of the peaks, but unfortunately it was never published[30]. Xanthoudides called it Middle Minoan, and some of the pottery and other objects from it illustrated by him certainly look Middle Minoan in character[31]. But among the objects were fragments of two tubular clay stands, and one of these was decorated with bold wavy lines of a type often found on vases assignable to Late Minoan III and thought to represent a stylized form of octopus tentacles[32].

On the basis of this N. Platon stated that the published contents of the shrine belonged to two different periods, Middle Minoan II and Late Minoan III B. At one time he included it in his list of peak sanctuaries[33]. Later, however, he accepted it as being the shrine of the settlement, although he described the building as a house, one of the houses[34].

The shrine at Koumasa and its date and relationship to the settlement are clearly of great potential interest. A re-examination of the building and a plan of it would be most desirable.

(5) *Mallia* (Pl. A, 4). – The Middle Minoan shrine at Koumasa remains for the moment enigmatic. But a shrine assignable to the same period, and apparently public, has been excavated at Mallia[35]. It lay about 100 m west of the palace and consisted of three rooms. What was evidently the main cult room (2) had a clay offering table set in the floor with traces of fire, perhaps from burnt offerings made on it. In the south-eastern corner of the room there was a rough bench or stand for vases, and a clay jar with a hole in the bottom for libations was buried in the floor by the door. The western room (3) was used for storage to judge from the remains of jars found in it. A tubular clay vase stand was also recovered there.

[29] S. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, 1924, 49.

[30] A brief description of the shrine is given in *AA* 1907, 108.

[31] Xanthoudides, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 50 pl. 33.

[32] Marinatos, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 284 n. 3, in reference to Xanthoudides, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 50 pl. 33 no. 5005. The account of the shrine in *AA* 1907, 108, refers to snake-entwined idols like those from Gournia and Prinias, showing that settlement and cult continued at Koumasa into late Mycenaean times.

[33] *Kretika Chronika* 1951, 145ff. Cf. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 307; 322.

[34] *Kretika Chronika* 1954, 457. Cf. *MMR*² 102ff.

[35] J.-C. Poursat, "Un sanctuaire du minoen moyen II à Mallia", *BCH* 90, 1966, 514–551. The curious stone with two through-like hollows at the eastern end of the paved passage leading to the shrine is discussed by R. Treuil, *BCH* 95, 1971, 13ff.; 20 (AD 26).

The shrine seems to have been built on the ruins of earlier houses. Although it was not free-standing with open spaces all round like the shrine at Gournia, it was evidently a self-contained unit, approached along a passage from the street to the west and not through another building. It was, that is to say, an independent shrine, if not in the fullest sense a public one[36]. There is of course no reason why it should have been the only shrine of this kind in a large town like Mallia.

(6) *Mallia* (Pl. A, 5). – This complex of rooms just south-west of the modern excavation house by the palace at Mallia may also have belonged to a shrine to judge from the elaborate plaster horns of consecration crowning balustrades which flanked steps and a bench in it[37]. The rooms seemed to form an independent unit, which was not incorporated in a house, although they adjoined another building on the north. They were eccentric in character, sunk below ground level and approached down steps from both the east and from the west. But they were altogether empty of finds which might give a clue as to their use or date, apart from a fragment of painted plaster, perhaps representing a stylized *boukranion* in red on a background of blue.

The remarkable absence of finds in these rooms may not be altogether without significance. It is not only that the lack of sacred objects is not itself proof that places were not shrines, as Platon has noted, citing the example of many early Christian basilica churches[38]. There are several instances where the innermost and presumably the most sacred rooms in buildings which were beyond doubt shrines have been found empty of contents. Perhaps these rooms contained the most valuable objects which were the first to be removed when the shrine was threatened with destruction or abandoned. At all events this absence of finds was a feature of what appeared to be the main sanctuary in the Middle Bronze Age shrine at Beycesultan[39], and also of the innermost room XII next to that with the fragments of clay statues (XI) in the temple at Ayia Irini on Kea (Pl. C, 2).

(7) *Pseira* (Pl. A, 6). – The building in the settlement on Pseira from which the relief frescoes came provides another instance where the lack of

[36] That is the cautious view of Poursat, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 530.

[37] There is a brief account of the complex by A. Dessenne, *BCH* 81, 1957, 695–700. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 235f. fig. 106, reproduces the plan with the caption "Late Minoan II". But it seems more likely that it belonged to the period of the Later Palaces in Late Minoan I as indicated by F. Schachermeyr, *AA* 1962, 146.

[38] *Kretika Chronika* 1954, 431.

[39] *AnatSt* 9,1959, 36.

movable finds excited comment[40]. Seager, who took the building to be a "small but well built house", went out of his way to observe that apart from the remains of the relief frescoes it "was a singularly empty one, probably because it was more carefully plundered than its neighbours". There were other strange features about it. In the first place, although it was unusually small for a house, if the plan of the town (Pl. B) is any guide, its outer walls were rather thicker than those of most of the other buildings excavated. Moreover it seems to have stood in comparative isolation, not forming part of a larger block like most of the houses. It was flanked by roads or paths on three sides, and "a small alley" led to the entrance on the north-east.

The exceptional quality of the relief frescoes, worthy of the hand of a master from Knossos itself, are in striking contrast with the comparatively small size of the building if it was merely a house. The relief figures of richly dressed women – parts of at least two survive[41] – are comparable with the figures painted on the walls of what appear to have been domestic shrines in a contemporary house at Phylakopi on Melos and in the palaces at Knossos and Ayia Triadha[42]. It seems highly probable that these figures represent goddesses or their attendants.

The largest room (1) was interpreted by Seager as "a small paved court with a sort of portico across the north side". The fragments of the relief frescoes were recovered from this portico, and Seager thought that they had fallen from an upper floor. The existence of an upper floor would not in itself preclude the building from being a shrine. The more or less contemporary temple at Ayia Irini on Kea (9) appears to have had an upper storey, and two-storeyed shrines are found in Syria[43].

The settlement on Pseira was destroyed or abandoned in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C. Seager does not mention the fact, but it may have been destroyed by fire like so many other sites in Crete at this time[44]. It is curious that no other remains of frescoes were found in spite of deeper fills of debris and conditions more favourable for their preservation elsewhere in the settlement. This suggests the possibility that no frescoes were in fact painted on the walls of any of the other buildings cleared.

[40] R. B. Seager, *Excavations on the Island of Pseira, Crete*, 1910, 15.

[41] As hinted by Seager, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 32, and confirmed by G. Rodenwaldt, *AA* 1923/24, 268ff.

[42] Cf. *PoM* 3, 37–45.

[43] E. g. the model from Selemiyeh illustrated by L. Woolley, *Alalakh*, 1955, 49 pl. 9, b.

[44] P.-A. Mountjoy, *BSA* 67, 1972, 128 n. 24: traces of burning on fragments of a Marine Style stirrup jar from Pseira.

In conjunction with this, however, it should be noted that no building that might have been a ruler's house or palace of the kind which appears to have been usual in settlements of the Late Minoan I period in Crete was identified on Pseira. It is conceivable that there was such a house decorated perhaps with frescoes, in the area up the slope from our hypothetical shrine where a space of some 20 × 30 m was found occupied by Roman buildings and left unexcavated.

The largest of the houses which Seager uncovered was B, immediately south-west of the building with the relief frescoes. Room 4 in this may have been a domestic shrine[45]. A room (2) in House D has been claimed as a pillar crypt[46]. A hoard of fine ritual vessels was recovered from another house (room 1 in square G 7)[47]. The presence of domestic shrines and cult vessels in some of the houses would not of course be incompatible with the existence of public shrines as well. A large hoard of ritual vessels, for instance, was found in one of the houses of the contemporary town at Gournia[48].

The building from which the relief frescoes came on Pseira might well repay careful re-examination. The same is true of what may have been the site of a public sanctuary of about the same date at Palaikastro.

(8) *Palaikastro* (Pl. C, 1). – A considerable area of this extensive Bronze Age town was cleared during the excavations of 1902–1906, supplemented by those of 1962–1963. Three or four possible domestic shrines have been identified in the houses[49]. A sanctuary of a more public character, however, may have occupied part of Block Π[50]. An accumulation of pottery, mostly broken, was noted in the earth between the walls here, especially in 38–40, 42 and 24. In the area of 41 and 43, but mainly in 41, the pottery was mixed with what seemed to be "the remains of a place of sacrifice, white ashes and a great number of bones of oxen and the cores of their horns". Fragments of four or five clay bull's head rhytons and of at least twenty clay standard lamps were found amongst these bones and ashes. The pottery seemed to represent a steady accumulation assignable to the early part of Late Minoan I.

[45] Seager, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 14f.; 24f.
[46] N. Platon, *Kretika Chronika* 1954, 458. Doubted by Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 105; 120.
[47] Seager, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 30f.
[48] *Gournia* 40 (House Cm, room 58).
[49] *MMR*² 108ff. lists three possible examples of house-shrines. See *BSA* 60, 1965, 257, for another in Block N.
[50] *BSA* 11, 1904/05, 286ff. Cf. *BSA* 40, 1939/40, 39; 66.

No actual shrine building was identified by the excavators, and houses certainly existed in other parts of Block Π adjacent to the presumed sacrificial area. But the structures which appear to have been involved with it, although interpreted by the excavators as a house with rooms 30–33 and 38–42, make a rather incoherent and not very house-like plan, and might conceivably belong to a shrine of some kind; one room (27) of the complex had an irregular pillar in it. An outcrop of rock at 26 was a noteworthy feature of the area.

Block Π and Block X immediately beyond it to the north-east were later occupied by the precinct of the sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus[51]. No convincing palace of the flourishing period of the Minoan civilization has yet been identified at Palaikastro in spite of much deliberate search for one during the excavations of 1902–1906[52]. But a large building with extremely thick walls in Block X might qualify as a palace of the Early Minoan II period to which it is securely dated[53].

The peak sanctuary on top of the hill of Petsofa overlooking the town of Palaikastro from the south-east was clearly related to it. The connection of Cretan towns and settlements with peak sanctuaries does not necessarily preclude the existence of public shrines inside them. A possible example of the co-existence of peak sanctuary and town-shrine is provided by the small but important settlement of Ayia Irini on Kea.

(9) *Ayia Irini (Kea)* (Pl. C, 2). – The settlement here began to come under strong Cretan influence during the Middle Bronze Age, from the beginning of Middle Minoan III in Cretan terms. But the temple appears to go back to an earlier phase of the Middle Bronze Age and need owe nothing to Crete in the first instance[54]. It is interesting, however, that there appears to have been a sanctuary of some kind on the hill of Troullos just above the settlement during its flourishing period equated with Late Minoan I in Crete[55].

The temple at Ayia Irini seems to have begun its existence as a small two-roomed structure under XI and XII, and was later expanded by the addition of further rooms on the east. The extended temple was evidently free-standing with paths or open spaces all round it, but the

[51] *BSA* 11, 1904/05, 298ff.
[52] Despite the claims made in *BSA* 10, 1903/04, 216; 246f.
[53] *BSA* 11, 1904/05, 272f.
[54] *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 278ff.; 33, 1964, 326ff.; 35, 1966, 367ff.; 40, 1971, 384ff. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 332, for other references.
[55] *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 375f.; 40, 1971, 392ff.

eastern end with the entrance has disappeared owing to erosion and the rise in sea-level. There are indications of an upper storey approached by a staircase in the narrow space VII. The temple was destroyed by fire at some point during the Cretan period of Late Minoan I B. From the debris of this destruction in room XI many fragments of large clay goddess figures were recovered, but the innermost room XII was empty, as if the most precious things presumably kept there had been removed.

Two other Cretan buildings which may have been shrines remain to be considered. These were more or less contemporary in date, and both appear to have suffered destruction by fire in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C. But neither was certainly associated with a settlement.

(10) *Rousses (Khondros)* (Pl. D, 1)[56]. – This small five-roomed building stood on a hillock by a stream at the foot of a slope, Tourkissa, which appears to have been the site of an extensive Minoan settlement. The building was not inside the limits of the settlement although it may have been near the edge of it. Two of the five rooms had evidently been used for cult. There were traces of burning in room 2 as in room 2 of the Middle Minoan shrine (5) at Mallia (Pl. A, 4). The inner room (1) contained two stone offering tables and a couple of clay jugs which had probably been used for making libations in them. The other three rooms (3–5) had been used for storage and produced the remains of some thirty pithoi and other vases. There seems to have been a rectangular pillar in the largest of these store rooms (3) and part of a stone horns of consecration was recovered here.

The excessive number of storage vessels contrasting with the small size of the building and the lack of any evidence for an upper storey make it improbable that it could have been merely a house with a room used for domestic cult[57]. It appears to have been constructed on the site of an earlier building at the end of the Middle Minoan or beginning of the Late Minoan period, and was eventually destroyed by fire, probably to judge from the vases found in it during Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C., rather than earlier[58].

(11) *Kannia (Mitropolis)* (Pl. D, 2)[59]. – This building in the region of Gortyna is much larger than one at Rousses (10) and has been the subject

[56] N. Platon, *Ergon* 1957, 89–91; 1959, 139–142; *Kretika Chronika* 1957, 331f.; 1959, 369f.; *Praktika* 1957, 145–147. Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 327f., for other references.

[57] As suggested by Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 50. It is accepted as a shrine by Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 158f. fig. 83. See Platon, *Ergon* 1959, 140.

[58] *Praktika* 1957, pl. 74. S. Hood, P. Warren, and G. Cadogan, *BSA* 59, 1964, 81f., for the date of the destruction.

[59] D. Levi, *BdA* 3, 1959, 237–265.

of a good deal of controversy. Traces of Neolithic settlement were noted here including rippled ware characteristic of the Middle Neolithic horizon at Knossos. But nothing has been said about the existence of a Minoan settlement in the area. Like the shrine at Rousses the building at Kannia was preceded by an earlier one which was on the same lines. The ruins of this earlier building were associated with pottery of the end of the Middle Minoan period.

The later building (Pl. D, 2) falls into two separate parts. Most of the eastern group of rooms (I, III, V, VI, XV) were clearly used for cult. Room V in particular with benches along the north and south sides and an altar in the south-east corner appears to have been the central shrine. Here and in rooms I, VI and XV, clay goddess figures and smaller figurines were recovered together with tubular vase stands and other cult material. Most of the other rooms in the building, however, were evidently devoted to storage. One of these (XI) had two square pillars with a pair of rectangular stone troughs between them, and might have been a pillar crypt on the analogy of such pillar rooms in palaces and houses elsewhere in Crete[60].

The comparatively few vases of fine decorated ware from the storerooms are all assignable to Late Minoan I B. But no fine decorated vases were recovered from the rooms in the eastern part of the building with the clay goddess figures and figurines. On the other hand a large stirrup jar, found by the northern jamb of the door leading into room V, was adorned with a wavy band of the kind which has been interpreted as a stylized and degenerate version of octopus tentacles and such wavy bands were certainly at home on large stirrup jars assignable to Late Minoan III[61].

On the strength of the wavy band design on this jar, and in the belief that clay goddess figures of the kind found here were not made in Crete as early as Late Minoan I, the attempt has been made to assign the cult rooms and their contents to Late Minoan III. No doors are shown on the published plan leading from the complex of storerooms to the rooms used for cult like V and XV. This eastern part of the building, however, was less well preserved, and it was therefore impossible to distinguish the position of any doors which might have led from one room into another here[62]. All the same, there is a hint of a later phase of construction in the

[60] For pillar crypts as shrines see in favour, Platon, *Kretika Chronika* 1954, 428ff.; against, Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 73ff., with references to other literature.

[61] *BdA* 3, 1959, 248 fig. 17, for the position on the floor; 261f. fig. 37a.

[62] *BdA* 3, 1959, 242.

building in the shape of the small angle of wall between rooms VIII and IX. This was erected on top of a layer of earth covering the original pavement and was therefore a later addition; but how much later is not clear.

D. Levi in his publication of the building was quite certain that the rooms used for cult and their contents had been involved in the same destruction by fire as the storerooms. The fine decorated clay vases from the latter indicate the destruction as having taken place in Late Minoan I B *ca* 1450 B. C. A date for it at the end of Late Minoan I on balance has the high authority of Fritz Schachermeyr to support it[63]. The clay goddess figures belong to a type of which a number of examples have been found in shrines of the Late Minoan III period and later, but those from Kannia do seem to reflect an earlier style as Levi has emphasised in a detailed comparison with ones from Gazi and Karphi[64]. Apart from the large stirrup jar with a wavy band already mentioned no fragment of pottery from the cult rooms was suggestive of a date in Late Minoan III. Indeed the pottery from them, such as it was, is said to have been indistinguishable from the ordinary run of that found in the storerooms with their fine decorated Late Minoan I B vases. But a detailed publication of the material is needed to confirm this.

The building has been described as a "villa rurale", or country mansion. But the plan of it does not resemble that of a house. The whole of the surviving ground floor was occupied by cult rooms or rooms used for storage. This combination of rooms used for cult with others devoted to storage, including one with rectangular pillars, repeats on a larger scale the situation at Rousses (Pl. D, 1). There may have been an upper floor, approached by stairs in the long spaces such as X and XXIV by the main entrance (XXIII), and it has been suggested that living rooms might have existed there. But there was no evidence for these; and even if it had an upper floor, the building at Kannia could still have been a shrine.

The amount of space devoted to storage at Kannia is striking and may seem out of proportion to the size of the cult rooms. But there are parallels for this in shrines and temples elsewhere in the world of the time. Thus the more or less contemporary great Temple I at Boğazköy consisted of an inner block of small chambers surrounded by a vast complex of long storage magazines, many of them filled with pithoi[65].

[63] Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 160.
[64] *BdA* 3, 1959, 250ff. Cf. C. Laviosa, *ASAtene* 41/42, 1963/64, 23.
[65] K. Bittel and others, *Boğazköy* 4, 1969.

These Cretan buildings, which may have been shrines inside or attached to settlements in the period before *ca* 1450 B. C., have no particular orientation and vary much in plan[66]. This is in marked contrast with the comparative uniformity of plan and design represented by the temples of later Greece, but it is in harmony with the situation in Anatolia and Syria at the time. Thus at Atchana the remains of no less than seventeen superimposed Bronze Age temples were identified exhibiting an extraordinary range in plan and variety of character from one period to another[67].

A careful re-examination of known sites and a systematic search for other possible shrines in the Bronze Age settlement of Crete might well revolutionise the traditional picture of Minoan religion as essentially a matter of private shrines in palaces and houses with public cult virtually confined to peak sanctuaries and caves.

[66] Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 243.
[67] Woolley, *op. cit.* (n. 43), 33ff.

SARA A. IMMERWAHR

Mycenaeans at Thera: Some Reflections on the Paintings from the West House

When the late Professor Marinatos uncovered at Akrotiri a well-preserved house on the west side of "Triangle Square" with frescoes in two rooms of its second storey almost complete, he reopened for Aegean archaeologists a pressing and still unanswered problem, the nature of Minoan-Mycenaean relations during the early part of the Late Bronze Age. Fortunately for the scholarly world he promptly published a preliminary report of the West House with full illustrations[1]; this publication together with an examination of the frescoes in the summer of 1974[2] forms the basis of this study, which is offered here as a tribute to the great historian of *Die Ägäis* and also in memory of one of its most brilliant archaeologists. It is hoped that Professor Schachermeyr and others will recognize the following observations not as conclusions so much as speculations by someone who has thought about these problems of Minoan-Mycenaean relations for a long time without the vivid pictures which the paintings from the West House now give us.

These paintings, particularly the miniature frieze which must have run as a band above the windows and doors on all four walls of Room 5[3], may

[1] Abbreviations: Karo = G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Munich 1930–1933; Mylonas = G. E. Mylonas, *Ὁ ταφικὸς κύκλος Β΄ τῶν Μυκηνῶν*, Athens 1973; *PoM* = A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 1921–1936 (repr. 1964); *Thera* = S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera*, Athens 1968–1974.
See *Thera* 6, text and loose plates (referred to as "atlas" in citing illustrations). Also *Thera* 5, pl. 97b; *AAA* 6, 1973, 289–292, fig. 1 and pl. 2; S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Kreta, Thera und das Mykenische Hellas*, 1973, pl. 40–42. Since it has not been possible to furnish adequate illustrations, it will be necessary for the reader to consult the pictures in *Thera* 6 which are referred to in the text.

[2] I should like to thank Dr John Sakellarakis for allowing me to study the miniature frescoes in the National Museum as well as for supplying the photographs for pl. A–D. The late Professor Spyridon Marinatos also kindly showed me his new material that was being worked on in the Byzantine Museum.

[3] *Thera* 6, atlas, pl. 7–9, for the north, east and south walls respectively (the west wall being completely missing due to the force of the explosion: *Thera* 6, 38f.); also *Thera* 6,

provide the information we have been looking for, for we seem to have before our very eyes a picture, or even a historical portrayal of life in the Aegean islands sometime around 1500 B. C., that is at the time of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, the second phase of the new palaces in Crete, and the reign of Queen Hatshepsut in Egypt. Three "towns" are represented, if we count the sparse architecture of the sheepfold and shipwreck scene of the north wall (Pl. A; 6, atlas, pl. 7b) as one locale, the coastal architecture from which the fleet departs on the south wall as a second town (Pl. C; 6, atlas, pl. 9, left), and the palace at the west end of the south wall as a third locale where the fleet is arriving and being greeted (6, atlas, pl. 9, right). These sites are separated by rocky peninsulas, shoals of variegated rocks, deep water with dolphins, and between Towns 1 and 2 by the entire expanse of the east wall, which represents a Nilotic landscape with palms and papyrus, where leopards pursue waterfowl and a frightened fawn runs on the other side of the river from a large white griffin (6, atlas, pl. 8)[4]. The imaginary nature of this stretch of landscape should perhaps caution one not to be too literal in interpreting the location of the other towns, but it does serve the artistic function of removing the shipwreck and sheepfold scenes to a more distant land[5]. The tropical landscape of the east wall gives way at the south-east corner to the mountainous landscape of the second town, where among a forest of pine and oak trees a tawny lion at full flying gallop pursues a herd of red deer (Pl. B–C; 6, pl. 94)[6]. One cannot help but ask, "Is this Mycenaean Greece?" With the third town there seems to be no difficulty in recognizing its Minoan, and even palatial character, for we have a building of

atlas, plans 3–7 for the West House and the location of the fresco fragments. The location of the miniature frieze (which averages about 40 cm high, the east wall being considerably shallower) in a room with two walls almost entirely taken up by quadruple windows which descended to the level of the marbled dado (*Thera* 6, pl. 38a–b) and with doors to Rooms 3 and 4 on the two interior walls goes far to explain the architectural requirements for this type of fresco, which at Knossos and elsewhere had not been found in connection with a specific room (*PoM* 3, 31–83). The only other frescoes in this room were the two panels of almost life-size fishermen on the east end of the north wall and the south end of the west wall beside the windows (*Thera* 6, pl. 38b; 42b; 85; 88; 90; atlas, pl. 6).

[4] Room 5 was approximately square, a little less than 4 m to a side. Of the total length of the frieze we have somewhat less than half: about 1 m from the north wall, about half of the east wall, and the entire south wall.

[5] Marinatos argues with some persuasiveness for locating the whole odyssey in a Minoanized Libya (*Thera* 6, 44–57), but until one has proof of some Minoan colonization of Libya it seems preferable to stay in the Aegean area.

[6] *Thera* 6,42. For the popularity of red deer hunting scenes in mainland frescoes see H. Buchholz, "Jagd und Fischfang", *ArchHom* J, 44–51.

isodomic masonry, which has wooden tie beams and rows of round beam ends, as well as flat roofs at various levels denoting perhaps four or more storeys. To clinch the identification Minoan horns of consecration crown the roof (6, pl. 103b) and women in Minoan decolleté watch from the turrets (6, pl. 105) while men of Minoan bearing clad only in the loincloth line up on the shore to welcome the fleet. Surely this ought to be Crete, and proof of the Minoan thalassocracy, but of that thalassocracy there are difficulties to which we shall return.

Here it might be noted that several prescient scholars had assumed pictorial prototypes such as these to explain the decoration of some of the objects from the Shaft Graves. In 1930 Sir Arthur Evans postulated miniature paintings as the basis for the "painting in metals" on the inlaid daggers from Graves 4 and 5, but he was unable to furnish a complete Minoan painting to compare with the Nilotic hunting scene on the dagger from Grave 5[7], for which now the narrow frieze of the east wall gives us a remarkably close parallel. Although it omits the fish as a detail, it likewise shows the river in a maplike perspective, while the flora – here enlarged to include palms as well as papyri – is arranged on either bank and grows correctly upward; the hunt has also been expanded to include a griffin and fawn as well as the traditional Nilotic ducks and cats[8].

In 1965 the late William Stevenson Smith devoted a whole chapter of his *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* to the Mycenae Silver Siege Rhyton and Aegean Paintings[9]. In this discussion he stressed not only the rhyton's source in wall painting but its basically Mycenaean rather than Minoan character, although at that time he could point only to later reflections in the Late Helladic III paintings at Mycenae and Pylos. One regrets that he did not live to see his theory vindicated in the miniature frescoes from Thera. Here the obvious points of comparison are the Minoanized city on the hill with spectators watching from turrets[10], the

[7] *PoM* 3, 111–118. For the dagger compare Marinatos and Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae*, 1960, color pl. 35; 37,1.

[8] Griffin and fawn were likewise part of the traditional iconography. Cf. the ivory pyxis from the Areopagus chamber tomb (S. A. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora* . . . 13, "The Neolithic and Bronze Ages", 1971, I–16; 166; pl. 32) where the Minoan imagery has been given greater savagery.

[9] W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*, 1965, ch. 5 (63–95).

[10] Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 86, with *Thera* 6, pl. 105; atlas, pl. 9.

shipwrecked swimmers[11], the military aspect of some of the protagonists with body shields and boar's tusk helmets[12], and the arrival of a ship[13]. Needless to say, there was little on the Silver Siege Rhyton, nor for that matter on other Aegean representations of ships[14], to suggest the magnitude and grandeur of the fleet portrayed on the south wall, where no less than eight large warships plus numerous smaller skiff are painted with such accuracy that it has been possible almost overnight to solve many of the vexing problems of Aegean ships and seafaring[15]. On analogy with the fresco representations, it would now appear that the helmeted heads to the left of the helmsman on the rhyton belong to soldiers seated on deck rather than to the rowers who would have been at a lower level.

A major question raised by the fresco concerns these soldiers. Who are they and what are they doing in company with the sailors in their Minoan loincloths? The latter are clearly the skilled mariners who man the steering oars or raise the sails of the "Pelaia", the only ship under sail and ap-

[11] Cf. Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 9), fig. 84 and 86b, with *Thera* 6, pl. 42a; 93; atlas, pl. 7. On the Thera fresco the figures are not actively engaged in swimming but seem to have been thrown headlong from one of the boats, probably that with the broken bowsprit and unattended oars.

[12] The best military panoply is seen in the landing party (*Thera* 6, pl. 97; atlas, pl. 7, right), where eight warriors wearing rectangular body shields of oxhide which come only to the knee (cf. Marinatos, *AAA* 6, 1973, 494–497), crested boar's tusk helmets, some with radiate knobs, and carrying a long spear in the right hand and wearing a sheathed sword on the left side, advance upon an unsuspecting bucolic crowd with a sheepfold and women carrying water jars. The same type of shield is seen on the two figures at the right of the major fragment of the rhyton (Smith, *op. cit.* [n. 9], fig. 86) where scholars have debated whether they are stiff tunics (Karo) or shields. Whether the tassels attached to the scabbards were "personal bandages" (Marinatos, *Thera* 6,47) or ornaments (cf. the gold tassels and gold scabbards from the Shaft Graves, Karo pl. 56,639 and pl. 84, where, however, they are not associated with each other) they continued to be characteristic of Mycenaean representations of soldiers, particularly on pictorial-style vases (A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, 1941 [repr. 1972], mot. 1, page 238, fig. 25, no. 1; 3; 6; 8).

[13] Cf. the bottom of the fragment, Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 9), fig. 86, where a steersman in boar's tusk helmet is clearly recognizable, and at the left there are traces of three or four other helmeted heads.

[14] *PoM* 1, 310, fig. 229a (fragment of Town Mosaic); Minoan seals (D. Gray, "Seewesen", *ArchHom* G, fig. 6–9); Mycenaean krater from Enkomi (Furumark, *op. cit.* [n. 12], mot. 40, page 333, fig. 56). This last now makes sense with its large Mycenaean soldiers on deck, its smaller Minoan marines at the ropes, and with the decorated bowsprit and even the *holkeion* indicated.

[15] Cf. Marinatos, *AAA* 6, 1973, 289–292, and *Thera* 6, 47–52; also Marinatos, "Das Schiffsfresko von Akrotiri", appendix to "Seewesen", *ArchHom* G, 141–151. The excellent book by G. Bass *et al.*, *A History of Seafaring*, 1972, appeared just too early to profit from the Thera frescoes.

propriately designated the "Dove" by the row of flying birds painted on her hull (6, pl. 92)[16]. The soldiers, on the other hand, are seated comfortably two by two, or back to back, on chairs or benches; they are protected by a deck awning or at least the furled sail; their boar's tusk helmets are hung above their heads and their oxhide rectangular shields are stacked astern the cabin ready for them to don when they go ashore as a landing party[17]. They seem clearly at ease and in authority, and in their swathed cloaks or tunics which cover their arms they seem the proper antecedents of the Mycenaean charioteers on pictorial-style vases[18]. Furthermore, each captain sits in an oxhide-covered structure, framed by upright poles, three on either side, which Marinatos has recognized as the *ikrion*, a kind of cabin or stationary shield, from which he could fight[19]. This same device, with minor variations in color or decorative details, is repeated eight times in a "lifesize" version on the walls of the adjacent room[20], which according to the excavator was the bedroom of the owner of the West House, who may even have been the "admiral" of the fleet, that is the captain of the ship in full colors, the central and largest ship of the upper row (6, atlas, pl. 9)[21]. Here the *ikrion* posts are crowned with the waz-lily motive; this is the only ship so adorned, but this motive occurs on all the *ikria* from the "bedroom", accompanied likewise by festoons of rosettes, beads, and crocus or lily pendants[22]. Within this ornate structure appears the profile head of the "admiral", proud and erect, with a long straight nose, forehead curl and flowing locks, *and bearded* (6, pl. 108). Marinatos rightly compared this head to the portrait head on the amethyst bead seal from Grave Gamma of Circle B at Mycenae[23], but left open the question of whether we should call him a Mycenaean or an "Aegean".

[16] *Thera* 6, 52.

[17] At least this would be my interpretation of the square oxhide projection immediately astern the cabin on all ships except the "Pelaia".

[18] Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 12), mot. 1, page 238, fig. 25, no. 11–20, where the arms are merely "tacked on". On the ships there is considerable variety and grace in their postures, but their arms are hidden under their cloaks.

[19] *Thera* 6, 49, and *AAA* 6, 1973, 289–292.

[20] *Thera* 6, pl. 52; 54–55 *(in situ)*; 56–57; atlas, pl. 4.

[21] *Thera* 6, 54.

[22] Presumably because of the small scale these have been sacrificed in the painted ship's *ikrion*, but a double row of crocus pendant festoons runs from mast to bow and sternwise to the roof of the *ikrion*.

[23] *Thera* 6, 54; pl. 108–109. For the seal cf. also Mylonas 77f., pl. 60b; A. Sakellariou, *Μυκηναϊκὰ σφραγιδογλύφια*, 24–26, pl. 1a, no. 5. For the Greek nature of this portrait see Biesantz, *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm* 1958, 13ff. and C. W. Blegen, "Early Greek Portraits", *AJA* 66, 1962, 247.

If indeed the admiral of the fleet depicted in the miniature fresco from the West House was a Mycenaean mainlander, this would raise a serious question about the supremacy of the Minoan navy and its control of the islands, the famed Cretan thalassocracy, at a period *before* the volcanic eruption of Thera. Thus the theory, which has recently been developed, that the mainland first acquired naval power following the destruction of the Knossian fleet in the tsunamis or tidal waves that accompanied the explosion may need some revision, even though this event may have provided the Mycenaeans their opportunity to move into Knossos and create the militarist dynasty of Late Minoan II with its Linear B archives in Mycenaean Greek[24]. Should we look for some less drastic solution to the problem of when the Mycenaeans took over the seaways and trade from the Minoans and created an art that, although Minoan-inspired, is stamped with their own mark? In the following pages I should like to explore some of these possibilities with the hope that the reader will keep in mind the tentative nature of these conclusions.

In approaching the problem of Minoan-Mycenaean relations in the light of the new material from Thera, there are two fruitful methods. First, there is the iconographic and stylistic approach based on the fresco itself, how closely the representations agree with what we have come to recognize as specifically Minoan or specifically Mycenaean, or how closely they parallel specific objects found in Minoan or Mycenaean contexts. The second approach is purely archaeological, and pertains to the site of Akrotiri itself, what evidence exists in the way of pottery or other artifacts to support the claim that a Mycenaean contingent was part of that colony, with a Mycenaean admiral perhaps residing in the West House. There are difficulties, of course, in both approaches. Iconographically, can we surely distinguish what is Minoan and what is Mycenaean? Emily Vermeule has recently raised this very problem in connection with the art of the Shaft Graves[25], and the Thera miniature frescoes being the best pictorial record of that period we are likely ever to have present the same difficulties. Also

[24] Here I take the traditional view in contradiction to Palmer (cf. my review of L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, 1st edn 1962, in *AJP* 84, 1963, 304ff.) that this period is LM II to III A:1, from about 1450–1370 B. C. Cf. also M. Popham, *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos: Pottery of the Late Minoan III A Period*, 1970.

[25] E. T. Vermeule, "The Art of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae", in: *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, 3rd series, preliminary publication 1975 (delivered 1973). I find her conclusions regarding the Shaft Graves very close to my own regarding the frescoes from the West House.

from the archaeological approach we must rely on an incompletely excavated and still incompletely published site.

We have already touched on a number of iconographic matters – the essentially Minoan character of the architecture, the costume of the women, the bearing and costume of many of the male figures, particularly the sailors. Presumably also Minoan are the great boats themselves with their contingent of rowers, their mast amidship and their big square sails[26]. Minoan too is the basic technique and style of the wall paintings, the miniature class with many small figures[27], the multicolored veined rocks, the seaweed and coral of the shipwreck scene[28], the seascape with dolphins[29]. To these one might add the bucolic scene of the sheep and goats being led to the coral (6, atlas, pl. 7b)[30], and the Nilotic scene with its hunting panthers and griffin at flying gallop amidst palms and papyrus[31].

But even these traditional Minoan features are treated in a somewhat alien style. The landscape rises behind the figures; it is the hilly landscape of the Silver Siege Rhyton, rather than the all-embracing landscape of Cretan naturalistic frescoes[32]. Furthermore, there is a tendency to string

[26] See Bass, *op. cit.* (n. 15), ch. 1 (esp. 16f.; 21f.).

[27] See Evans (*PoM* 3, 31ff.) on the miniature frescoes from Knossos, of which the Grandstand fresco (46ff., pl. 16) and the Sacred Grove (66ff., pl. 18) are the most famous. From the same deposit were found fragments of "warriors" hurling javelins (82, fig. 45), a youthful officer (83, fig. 46), an architectural fragment with horns of consecration (84, fig. 47; 48d). Cf. also fragments of the miniature class from Tylissos (*PoM* 3, 35, fig. 17; Hatzidakis, *ArchEph* 1912, pl. 19) and Keos (*Hesperia* 35, 1966, 374; pl. 90a) where the subject matter promises perhaps a closer connection with the Thera frescoes (information from Katherine Coleman). Interestingly these fragments come from two rooms in Area M, which Caskey has suggested may have been rooms for the military staff, being near the chief defensive works (J. L. Caskey, 'Investigations in Keos. Part I: Excavations and Explorations, 1966–1970", *Hesperia* 40, 1971, 358–396, at 376).

[28] For the veined rocks the closest parallel comes from Thera itself in the extravagant pinnacled rocks of the "Spring Fresco" (*Thera* 4, pl. A–C). Cf. also the Flying Fish fresco from Phylakopi (T. D. Atkinson *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, 1903, pl. 3) for the best parallel for the irregular shore with seaweed and coral of the shipwreck scene (*Thera* 6, atlas, pl. 7b), where the colors are reversed. The dark coralline border of the Thera fresco is a standard element of the LM I B Marine style of pottery (Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* [n. 7], pl. 85) which is also found on the mainland.

[29] Cf. the dolphin fresco from the Queen's Megaron, *PoM* 3, 377ff., fig. 251–252.

[30] Cf. the representations of animals in the fayence plaques from the Temple Repositories (Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* [n. 7], pl. 71; *PoM* 1, 510ff.) and the sensitive portrayals on Minoan seals and sealings.

[31] Cf. above n. 7; n. 8.

[32] Cf. the remarks of Smith (*op. cit.* [n. 9], 63ff.) on the rendering of pictorial space in Aegean compositions where he stresses "the clarity of organization which would seem to

figures out paratactically rather than to group them in the "shorthand perspective" of the Knossian miniature frescoes. This characteristic makes the greeting party of Minoan youths by the third town or palace closer in style to the later processional frescoes from Knossos than to the crowds in the Grandstand fresco or the javelin-throwing youths from the same deposit[33]. Despite the excellent drawing of the sheep and goats of the pastoral scene (6, pl. 96), they have a regimentation that looks more Mycenaean than Minoan[34].

In addition to the Shaft Grave parallel for the Nilotic scene from the east wall which we have discussed, one should note that the coursing lion pursuing stags above the second town (Pl. B–C; 6, pl. 94) has its iconographic counterpart in the hexagonal gold box from the same Grave 5 that yielded the inlaid dagger; on the box, however, the theme is rendered in the "nomadic" style of some of the Shaft Grave objects[35]. On the fresco the lion runs free in a natural setting, and although his flying gallop pose may remind one of the gold inlaid lions on the dagger from Grave 4[36], he has the freedom and naturalism of the best Minoan art[37]. One thus has the contradiction of a clarity of exposition, if not a real narrative style, that might be termed "Mycenaean", along with a sensitivity in observation of nature and almost lyrical incidents and drawing that seem "Minoan[38]".

There are other more specific Mycenaean iconographical features, some of which we have already mentioned – the martial aspect of the landing party from the north wall (6, atlas, pl. 7b) where the men are equipped with boar's tusk helmets, have their swords and spears ready for action, and wear knee-length rectangular shields like those on the Siege Rhyton

be Mainland Greek in origin" as compared to the "concentric composition" of the more purely Minoan style of paintings such as the Hagia Triada frescoes (73).

[33] Cf. *PoM* 3, 33, fig. 15B (fragment below kasella floor of thirteenth magazine), or 82, fig. 45 (javelin-throwing youths from miniature deposit), with *Thera* 6, atlas, pl. 9, lower right.

[34] While the details are naturalistic the even disposition of their hooves strung out in two parallel rows one above the other destroys something of the naturalism and seems akin to that "clarity of organization" of the Silver Rhyton (cf. above n. 32).

[35] Karo pl. 143–144, 808–811. Cf. Vermeule, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 24f.

[36] Karo pl. 93–94, 395. Cf. Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), color pl. 35; 37.

[37] Cf. *Thera* 6, pl. 94 (details of the lion and the deer where the drawing is exquisitely sensitive) with the seal impression from Zakro (Vermeule, *op. cit.* [n. 25], fig. 51) which highlights the difficulty in pinpointing iconographic motives to a specific region.

[38] Among these one should mention the pastoral scenes of the two fur-clad figures by the brook outside the second town (*Thera* 6, pl. 98–99; atlas, pl. 9 upper left) and the women with their water jars balanced on their heads (*Thera* 6, atlas pl. 7b, top) in the sheepfold scene connected with the first town.

and on some of the hunters on the lion hunt dagger from Shaft Grave 4[39]. Furthermore the bearded admiral with his resemblance to the Mycenaean portrait head on the amethyst gem and his fellow officers with their boar's tusk helmets[40] hung above their heads and their swathed garments surely speak to us as "Mycenaean". Have we been wrong all along in our identification?

There is another iconographic feature which strongly imparts a Mycenaean flavor to parts of the fresco. One is struck, I think, by the lion imagery, not only by the lion hunting red deer above the second town (6, atlas, pl. 9, upper left) of which we have spoken, but especially by the lion blazons on the admiral's ship, where they run with outstretched legs (6, pl. 102c) like the lions on the inlaid dagger from Grave 4[41], but here somewhat incongruously amid dolphins (6, atlas, pl. 9, upper right). However, they conform to the shape of the hull, two running to the bow, two to the stern, and they diminish in size as do the golden lions on the dagger, with the same cloudlike (or rock) formations above. Clearly they impart a symbolic quality, and they name the ship the "Lion" just as the doves named the ship under sail the "Pelaia"[42]. Behind our admiral there is another lion, somewhat lifeless like a lionskin with its head draped over the sternpost. At the bowsprit there are four golden devices, alternating rosettes and butterflies; a similar antithetic pair of butterflies crowns the mast, from which double festoons of golden beads and crocus pendants stretch to bow and stern like Mycenaean necklaces[43]. These designate the

[39] See above n. 12. Karo pl. 93–94; Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), color pl. 35–36.

[40] It has hardly seemed necessary to argue for the mainland origin of this type of helmet. Instances occur from the Middle Helladic period onward (Mylonas pl. 22; Karo pl. 69, 521–531) as well as in frequent representations of Mycenaean warriors (Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* [n. 7], pl. 214–215). Although a boar hunt is represented on the Middle Minoan dagger from the Psychro Cave (*PoM* 3, 112, fig. 62) there is no evidence for the use of boar's tusk helmets until the period of Mycenaean dominance.

[41] See above n. 36.

[42] See above 176f. Also Vermeule, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 40ff., on the emblematic character of Shaft Grave art and the suggestion that the swords may have had names.

[43] Cf. the gold butterflies from Shaft Grave 3 (Karo pl. 26, 51; 27, 49; 28, 2; 4) which are more highly schematized and frontal. The profile form used in the fresco reminds one rather of Minoan renderings, where, however, the second wing is usually indicated (*PoM* 3, 148, fig. 98). Gold rosettes are well known in Mycenaean jewellery (A. W. Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra Near Midea*, Lund 1942, fig. 93 and pl. 3) but occur also decoratively on objects from the Shaft Graves (Karo pl. 111, 351: gold goblet). The festoons of pendant crocuses and beads do not occur in jewellery of the Shaft Grave period, but as a ceramic motive in Palace style vases (Mylonas pl. 198b and 199a: Grave P; *BSA* 25, 1923/25, pl. 50: Tomb of Aigisthos). Similar gold jewellery is found in the late fifteenth-century chamber tomb at Dendra (Persson, *op. cit.* fig. 92, pl. 5).

ship as the most important, the one in "full colors", but they lack the emblematic power of the lion, which is clearly here the device *par excellence*. The lion imagery connected with Mycenae and its royal house is well known[44], yet we can hardly imagine that the admiral in the "Lion" is this royal personage; at most he would be his representative.

What do the other ship blazons tell us? Two of the ships following the admiral's (6, atlas, pl. 9, above, center) also have lion insignia draped over the stern, but simpler decoration on the hull, the one above with a green and red running spiral band, the one below less well preserved but perhaps "clouds" or depending rocks. The ship directly below the admiral's as well as the two ahead of the "Pelaia" (6, atlas, pl. 9) have a griffin with spiral curls, wingless (?), moulded to the stern. Although they have been called "hawks" by Marinatos[45], the fact that the ship closest to the palace has its bowsprit device well preserved and this is clearly a Cretan griffin with upraised wing and spiral curls suggests that the three stern blazons should also be considered griffins. Tempting as it might seem to connect the boats with lion insignia with the Mycenaeans and those with griffins with the Minoans, this bypasses the problem that in every case the sailors look Minoan and the officers or soldiers Mycenaean. Only the "Pelaia" seems to have an unadulterated Minoan quality. So as far as the pictures of the ships, their blazons and their occupants go, I think we can conclude that we are not dealing with antagonistic forces. If there was any *contretemps* between Crete and the mainland, it is already a thing of the past; Minoans and Mycenaeans are here working together on whatever colonizing venture or expedition is depicted on the fresco.

Another iconographic detail with perhaps even more narrative significance occurs in the badly damaged fragment from the north wall called the "Meeting on the Hill" (6, pl. 101; 6, atlas, pl. 7a)[46]. Here at the top of a cone-shaped mountain with blue, gray, and red rock formations figures are gathering for a conference. At the summit, facing each other, are two male figures dressed in long bordered robes of the type we usually call "priestly"[47]. At the left two figures in Minoan loincloths, otherwise nude,

[44] Although Vermeule reminds us (*op. cit.* [n. 25], 35ff.) of the longer history of the lion in Minoan representations, she stresses its emblematic quality (and also that of the horse) as "one of the essential ingredients of the independent Mycenaean style".

[45] *Thera* 6, 51. See also the descriptions in "Seewesen", *ArchHom* G, 144f.

[46] *Thera* 6, 40f. for Marinatos' description.

[47] Cf. the lyre player on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* [n. 7], color pl. 29 A, third figure from left). See also C. R. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarco-*

have arrived at the summit, and in the faint traces below it is just possible to detect others who are climbing to the top with some difficulty[48]. On the other side of the conference are two figures clad in short bordered tunics with a ribbon or scarf knotted at the neck, and it is likely that there are others arriving on this side too. It looks very much like a conference or truce between two different ethnics, since there is otherwise no reason on account of occupation or locale to make a distinction in their dress. Those with short tunics seem very much the ancestral prototypes of the figures we meet in later Mycenaean frescoes and pictorial-style vases[49], and again the inference might be that the "Meeting on the Hill" depicts Mycenaeans and Minoans working together, or reaching an agreement. While it would be a mistake to interpret this scene, or the other parts of the miniature frieze, as history *per se*, I think they are more than just typical imagery. One might rather call the entire frieze a kind of symbolic narrative of conditions in the Aegean in the early fifteenth century, and thereby conclude that Mycenaeans were certainly present with the Minoans in their colonizing ventures, and that they were engaged in friendly rather than hostile activities amongst themselves[50].

Does the purely archaeological evidence support this picture of Mycenaeans being involved in the Minoan colonizing movement or suggest that the admiral of the West House could have been a Mycenaean? Here we cannot rely just on the evidence from Thera, which is necessarily still incomplete, but we must take note of the other overseas foundations that were flourishing in the sixteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Ayia Irini on Keos, Phylakopi on Melos, Kastri on Kythera, and the more distant settlements at Trianda on Rhodes and at Miletus in Asia Minor are

phagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs, 1974, 37f., for this type of dress. Cf. Marinatos' description, *Thera* 6, 46.

[48] One should perhaps compare the large damaged silver vase from Shaft Grave 4 (Karo pl. 129–131, 605) for some of the poses, although this was a battle scene. Cf. A. Sakellariou, "Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille", in: *Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 1967*, 1, 1967, 262–265; Vermeule, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 29.

[49] M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, vol. 2: The Frescoes, 1969, pl. 12; 13 (16–18 H 43); 121–123; and pl. B and M. Also Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 12), mot. 1, no. 3; 9; etc.

[50] This would demand removing the shipwreck and raiding party from the immediate Aegean sphere, as is perhaps suggested by the interposition of the Nilotic scene on the east wall. Certainly the Mycenaean landing party seems intent on hostile, perhaps retaliatory action for the damage inflicted on the ships from which they have debarked. Whether the figures in the water are Minoan oarsmen or some alien folk (*Thera* 6, 44ff.) I am not prepared to say.

all part of the story of this colonizing movement, which we cannot hope to survey in its entirety.

From the full, but still incomplete, publication of the material from the first six campaigns at Akrotiri, it seems clear that the settlement was originally Minoan, or perhaps a Minoan settlement imposed upon a native Cycladic[51]. The wealth of pottery in a light on dark naturalistic style[52], which implies strong connections with the Middle Minoan III light on dark style as exemplified in the lily vases from Knossos[53], suggests a date for the original contact with Crete sometime in the latter seventeenth century, but as far as the published material goes there is no Kamares ware, nor anything to suggest connections with Crete in the Old Palace period. In this respect Akrotiri is at variance with Phylakopi[54], and Ayia Irini as well[55], although at neither site is the bulk of Minoan material so large as to suggest more than trade connections; further excavation of lower strata at Akrotiri may produce similar evidence. At both Phylakopi and Ayia Irini Gray Minyan and Cycladic imitations of Minyan occur in the same stratum with Kamares[56], and as yet nothing similar has been shown us from Thera. What we do have seems to agree best with the following stratigraphic groups, F and G, from Keos, which have recently been discussed by Caskey[57]. The first group marks the beginning of the main period of the Kean settlement, following the building of the fortification wall in Middle Minoan III when the town took on a more important character, and as Caskey notes, "Minoan influence appears to have been stronger at this time than that from the mainland"[58]. This phase must be contemporary with the second phase of the Second City at Phylakopi, which likewise saw increased Minoan influence and the presence of

[51] Although to date the excavations at Akrotiri have not yielded EC material, as far as we know, with the exception of the marble idol (*Thera* 5, pl. 38b) which was apparently out of context, it seems highly unlikely that the Minoan settlement was not preceded by a native one. For EC remains elsewhere on Thera see J. Sperling, *Thera and Therasia*, (Athens Center of Ekistics) 1973, 43–45. For probable EC and earlier habitation at Akrotiri see *ibid.* 12, § 41.

[52] *Thera* 2, pl. 11, 1; 25, 1; *Thera* 3, pl. A, 1, 3; 48, 2; *Thera* 4, pl. 24, 64a–b; 80b; 83–84; 85a; *Thera* 6, pl. 77a.

[53] *PoM* 1, 578ff., fig. 347; Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), color pl. 25

[54] Edgar's Class 6, subgroup (cf. Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* [n. 28], 93 and 96, where it is said to be small in bulk).

[55] J. L. Caskey, "Investigations in Keos. Part II: A Conspectus of the Pottery", *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 357–401, at 382 pl. 83, D 111–119.

[56] *BSA* 51, 1956, 15; Caskey, *op. cit.*, 382 pl. 82, D 92–110.

[57] Caskey, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 386–393 fig. 11–13; pl. 90–93.

[58] *Ibid.*, 387.

Minoan artists, for the "flying fish" fresco and the exquisitely drawn women, which now have their counterparts at Thera[59], belong to this period before a devastating earthquake, probably contemporary with the MM III B earthquake at Knossos, destroyed the town, which was then rebuilt as the Third City. That the catastrophe that marked the end of the Second City cannot be equated with the final eruption of Thera is clear from the LM I A imports and the Cycladic imitations of these found in the early phase of the Third City[60]. Akrotiri must also have been settled by Minoan colonists before the period of the MM III B earthquake, although there is little in the published pottery that is demonstrably earlier than Caskey's Group G at Keos, characterized by "imported LM I A ware, LH I and Late Cycladic ware of types associated with the Mycenaean Shaft Graves"[61]. However, the tradition for the light on dark locally produced pottery of the naturalistic style and at least some of the frescoes would seem to take us back into the Middle Minoan III period.

The material from Akrotiri has made it possible to strengthen the Cycladic ties with the Shaft Graves, which had been recognized by both Evans[62] and Karo[63] in dealing with the so-called "Schnabelkannen" from the Temple Repositories at Knossos and the kindred jugs from Shaft Grave 6 at Mycenae. And the somewhat earlier graves of Circle B, which have just been published by Mylonas[64], are contributing even more parallels. Grave Γ has produced a "swallow ewer" which Marinatos recognized as being from the same hand as several jugs decorated with swallows from Akrotiri[65]. Two more jugs from Grave N must also be Cycladic imports, although the parallels are less close[66]. A mainland version of this shape

[59] Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 259ff. and pl. 3 for the Flying Fish which in their Minoan naturalism and grace have been equalled at Thera only in the swallows of the Spring fresco (*Thera* 4, pl. A–C and 121–124). The women of Phylakopi (72ff., fig. 61–62) are finer in their draftsmanship than the Priestess from the West House (*Thera* 5, pl. J; K), but note the women from the House of the Ladies (*Thera* 5, pl. G; H) and those discovered in 1973 in Xeste 3 (*Ergon* 1973, 94–96, fig. 89).

[60] Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 263ff., pl. 23–25.

[61] Caskey, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 391, fig. 13, pl. 92–93.

[62] *PoM* 1, 558f., fig. 405.

[63] Karo 164f., no. 946; 947; 952; fig. 80–81. Karo no. 950 (pl. 174) is related and ought to be a MH imitation comparable to G 41 at Keos (Caskey, *op. cit.* [n. 55], pl. 93).

[64] Mylonas.

[65] Mylonas 57, Γ-27, pl. 44a. *Thera* 2, 14, fig. 5; 42–43, fig. 29 and pl. A; *Thera* 6, pl. 74a. Cf. Marinatos, *AAA* 2, 1969, 65–69.

[66] Mylonas 166–167, N-165 and 166, pl. 143–144. Parallels cited for the bird jug N-165 are to Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), pl. 16, 4 and 21, 5–6; 8–9; 11; 12. The carelessly drawn spiral band of N-166 is found on several ewers from Thera (*Thera* 1, 33, fig. 47 and 4,

occurs in five examples from Grave Γ[67], and apparently also in another from Schliemann's Grave I[68], all painted with birds in the precise style of Fine Mattpainted rather than in the more naturalistic but rather slapdash style of Cycladic birds[69].

Not only is there evidence of Cycladic, and even specific Theran, influence on Mycenae during the Shaft Grave period, but even more important to our question of whether there were Mycenaeans at Thera there is evidence of reverse trade from the mainland. Although it is hard to pinpoint specific pottery imports when working merely from the photographs, the large handmade jar with bichrome decoration found in 1970[70] is certainly mainland polychrome Mattpainted, perhaps from the Argolid, and it should be assigned to the later stages of Middle Helladic[71]. A number of other vases which may be local have the tectonic shapes of mainland Mattpainted[72] or the sparse and structural arrangement of their decoration[73], so that a mainland element in the pottery production at Thera seems wellnigh certain.

Among the most eloquent statements of the early Mycenaean pottery style are the three deep cups found in 1971, which in my opinion can only have come from the Argolid[74]. Although technically Mattpainted Yellow

pl. 69a) where the shape, however, is not Cycladic but seems imitative of metallic examples (cf. the silver ewer from Shaft Grave 5, Karo pl. 134).

[67] Mylonas 410 and pl. 42; 45b; 46a and b, 1–2.

[68] Karo pl. 174, 200.

[69] These MH birds are remarkable as anticipations of the later LH III birds (cf. Furumark, *op. cit.* [n. 12], mot. 7, no. 4–6; 8; 10; 12).

[70] *Thera* 4, pl. 63a–b. Recognized by F. Schachermeyr as MH (cf. *Thera* 4, 34).

[71] Cf. R. J. Buck, "Middle Helladic Mattpainted Pottery", *Hesperia* 33, 1964, 231–313, especially 282; 302f. Cf. the polychrome Mattpainted "stamnoi" from Grave Circle B (Mylonas 408–409, pl. 103–104, K-109 and 170a, O-193). Cf. also the jar from Prosymna (C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna: The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*, 1937, 1, pl. 4a).

[72] Cf. the ewer with bunches of grapes (*Thera* 3, pl. 56, 1) as an example of both principles (shape and decoration, that is). Also *Thera* 6, pl. 74c, for the mainland "stamnos" shape.

[73] *Thera* 4, pl. 72–73; *Thera* 6, pl. 76b; cf. the hydria from Grave Γ (Mylonas pl. 41a–b, I-17). Possibly the zonal and panelled pattern of the early stirrup vases (*Thera* 3, 58, fig. 40–41) should be seen as mainland influence (cf. the bridge-spouted jar from Grave B, Mylonas pl. 27c, B-15).

[74] *Thera* 5, 31, pl. 62. Marinatos describes the fabric thus: "They consist of yellow, pure and smooth clay reminding us of some 'yellow Minyan' ware. They are painted in brown". For the cup pl. 62c Marinatos mentions an "unsolid pink color almost effaced" for the stamens of the crocuses, which I seem to detect (from the photograph) also for the eyes of the spirals and the wavy lines of the second zone of pl. 62a. These cups must be Fine polychrome Mattpainted like the cups from one of the Shaft Graves at Lerna (*Hesperia* 25, 1956, pl. 39d–e). Marinatos continues: "They are only painted on the front side . . . and are surely imported from somewhere else".

Minyan, they anticipate later Mycenaean to a remarkable degree. Doubtless connected with the Cycladic panelled cups from Phylakopi[75] which are also found on Keos[76] and with the somewhat earlier Mattpainted cups of this shape from Grave Circle B[77], they are closest to a cup from Grave 6[78]. While poorly preserved, this has the same treatment of the zone above the base, the same tectonic banding and use of polychromy as the first Thera cup (5, pl. 62a), which suggest that all four cups come from the same workshop. Nothing so far published has quite prepared us for the third cup from Thera (Pl. D; 5, pl. 62c), which has the elegant stylization of plant forms and the restraint of Ephyraean ware[79]. Indeed there must be a Helladic ancestry for both.

In addition to these probable Helladic imports of the period of the Shaft Graves, we have at Thera other vases which suggest mainland connections, although their place of manufacture is more debatable: the two pottery lion's head rhyta[80], the ewer with cutaway neck[81], the ewer with ivy bands[82], the Vaphio or Keftiu cups with tangent spiral band[83],

[75] Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 114f., fig. 88 and pl. 16–17, most of which are painted in a slapdash Cycladic style, although a few have a finer more precise ornament that might be Helladic (pl. 16, 8; 9; pl. 17,17).

[76] Caskey, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 388, pl. 91, F 25–29.

[77] Mylonas 412, pl. 53a, 1–3; c, Γ -58 to 60; 80; pl. 115a–b, Λ -119 and 120. While these do not have the decoration confined to one side, they suggest a panelled arrangement. Buck (*op. cit.* [n. 71], 293f.) suggests that the Cycladic was derived from the Helladic, because the shape is basically yellow Minyan.

[78] Karo 255, fig. 101; pl. 173, 953.

[79] C. W. Blegen, *Korakou: A Prehistoric Settlement Near Corinth*, 1921, 54f., pl. 6–7. Both have their origins in yellow Minyan shapes, but Ephyraean makes use of the lustrous glaze derived from Crete.

[80] *Thera* 2, 43, pl. 37, 1 (black sandy clay); *Thera* 5, 35, pl. 80 (polished yellow clay imitating metal prototype). The second example, which is from the West House, recalls the gold rhyton from Shaft Grave 4 (Karo pl. 117–118, 273).

[81] *Thera* 2, pl. D 6, "imported ewer", which in my opinion is one of the most Mycenaean-looking pots from Thera with a strong resemblance to Mycenaean II B to III A:1 ewers (Furumark, *op. cit.* [n. 12], shape 144), but probably rather an example of Furumark's shape 135 which goes back into the earlier Mycenaean period (cf. Blegen, *op. cit.* [n. 79], 37, fig. 151, 1; 50, fig. 62, 2; fig. 67).

[82] *Thera* 3, pl. 50, 3. Cf. Karo pl. 175, 945, from Grave 6, where the rim is more like that of the local ewer, *Thera* 3, pl. 50, 1, which has a simplified version of the shoulder pattern of the Shaft Grave jug.

[83] *Thera* 2, pl. D 7 ("about a dozen examples"); *Thera* 4, 36, pl. G b ("imported almost surely Mycenaean"); *Thera* 5, pl. 65a ("two imported examples"); *Thera* 6, atlas, pl. 10. Only five examples of this shape were found in Grave Circle B (Mylonas 412), three clearly Mattpainted (pl. 52a; 89a; 98d), the other two decorated with tortoiseshell ripples (pl. 52c; 115c). While Grave Circle A produced none in pottery, the examples in gold are

deep teacups with double axes or tangent spiral bands with applied white details[84], the somewhat awkward Palace style jar with tangent spiral hands and ivy[85], or the jar with bands of tortoise shell ripple[86], all these can be matched on the mainland in the LH I period.

Of course, one must not minimize the importance of the LM I A imports and the part they played not only at Thera, but also originally in creating the LH I style on the mainland. The bridge-spouted jugs which occur in imported and local examples[87], the hole-mouthed jars[88], the eighteen squat askoi found together in a jar[89], the high alabastron from Room 5 of the West House[90], the conical or slightly convex-shaped rhyta[91], the rhyton in the form of a whole bull similar to one from Pseira[92], the fragmentary bull's head rhyton[93], all these impress us as more

many, but only one decorated with spiral bands (Karo pl. 125, 629, from Grave 5). Note examples from Keos (Caskey, *op. cit.* [n. 55], 392, pl. 92, G 4–5 "may be Mycenaean", G 32–34; 36: "standard Mycenaean type").

[84] *Thera* 4, pl. 87a (38, "possibly Argive origin") and *Thera* 6, atlas, pl. 10. Both have tangent spiral bands with added white. Cf. the fragments from Keos (Caskey, *op. cit.* [n. 55], pl. 92, G 24–30) and the well-known LH I type (Blegen, *op. cit.* [n. 71], 2, fig. 660; A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, 1932, pl. 1, T. 529, no. 1; pl. 41, T. 518, no. 37). *Thera* 5, pl. 65b, with double axes and added white is similar to Blegen, *op. cit.* (n. 71), 2, fig. 661.

[85] *Thera* 2, 37, fig. 22. Cf. the jar with spiral band from Shaft Grave 5 (Karo pl. 172, 856) and the jug with ivy band from Grave 6 (Karo pl. 175, 945).

[86] *Thera* 3, 54, fig. 33. For other examples of this shape, cf. *Thera* 2, pl. 34, 1–2, which seem to have been locally produced.

[87] *Thera* 6, pl. 75; 76a, with close parallels at Knossos (*PoM* 4, 264, fig. 195). Cf. the local imitations (*Thera* 3, pl. 48, 1; *Thera* 6, pl. 73a, left).

[88] *Thera* 6, pl. 79b; atlas, pl. 10 (from Room 5, West House). The specific shape here is certainly later than the bulk of the hole-mouthed jars in local fabric from Akrotiri (cf. *Thera* 1, 33, fig. 46; *Thera* 2, pl. 35, 2, etc.) and is close to an LM I A example in the Ashmolean Museum (*BSA* 62, 1967, pl. 77b) which Popham thinks may be from East Crete. Is this the source for much of the later Minoan imports to Akrotiri?

[89] *Thera* 5, 31, pl. 31b (from Δ 16). Cf. the LM I examples from Palaikastro, R. C. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins, *The Unpublished Objects from Palaikastro*, 1 (Excavations 1902–1906), London 1923, 58f.

[90] *Thera* 6, pl. 79c; atlas, pl. 10.

[91] *Thera* 5, pl. 63 (from Δ 9), which may well be from the same hand as the jug with tangent rosettes from the West House (*Thera* 6, pl. 78b; atlas, pl. 10); cf. H. Boyd Hawes, *Gournia, Vasiliki and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete*, 1908, pl. 7, 26. Others *Thera* 4, pl. 86b (local) and c (imported). The slightly convex rhyton with crocus decoration (*Thera* 5, pl. 64) is fairly close to one from Gournia (*BSA* 62, 1967, pl. 80d) which Popham puts in LM I B (*BSA* 62, 1967, 339).

[92] *Thera* 3, pl. A 2; 54; also *Thera* 3, 59, where attention is called to similar examples from East Crete (*PoM* 1, 188; 3, 204f., example from Pseira).

[93] *Thera* 4, 37, pl. 85b (clay almost lifesize from Δ 14). Cf. the steatite examples from Crete: Marinatos and Hirmer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), color pl. 98 (Little Palace); N. Platon, *Zakros: Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*, 1971, 160; the fragmentary clay examples from

strongly Minoan than Mycenaean, although some could be the products of Minoan potters working on the mainland[94]. We have moved into a period, the end of the sixteenth and perhaps the first half of the fifteenth century, when it is less easy to be sure where the pottery originated, although its essential "Minoan" or "Mycenaean" characteristics can be analyzed. As Vermeule has pointed out[95], this is true also for much of the wealth of the Shaft Graves, and the same uncertainty of place of manufacture might apply to the scarcer *de luxe* objects from Thera[96], with parallels in the Shaft Graves: the ostrich egg rhyta with fayence attachments[97], the marble chalice and its clay counterpart[98], the bronze ewer with waz-lily decoration[99], the gold and silver bracelet worn by the "priestess" in the fresco from the West House (5, pl. K)[100], and the large circular gold earrings worn by her and other ladies in the frescoes[101].

Does the picture that we get from the archaeological remains at Thera confirm what the painted pictures of the miniature frieze have already suggested? The answer, I think, is unequivocally affirmative. Both sets of evidence reflect the brilliant period of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, particularly that of Schliemann's Grave Circle and even running beyond,

Phylakopi (Atkinson *et al.*, *op. cit.* [n. 28], 205, fig. 178–179); and the silver rhyton from Shaft Grave 4 (Karo pl. 119–120, 384).

94 See Popham, *BSA* 62, 1967, 342f.; Caskey, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 396.

95 Vermeule, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 28f. (and *passim*).

96 Although Akrotiri was certainly not of the same importance as Mycenae, one should remember that people had time to remove most of their very valuable personal effects between the first stages of the eruption and the final cataclysm. This is proved by the fact that no objects of precious metal nor any human skeletons have yet been found.

97 *Thera* 5, 38f., pl. B, 81–84 (two examples from Δ 16). Cf. the rhyta from Graves 4 and 5 (Karo pl. 141–142, 567; 651; 828).

98 *Thera* 5, pl. 67–68 (from Δ 16); pl. 61b (clay copy from Δ 9). Another comes from earlier soundings on Thera (C. Zervos, *L'art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l'âge du Bronze, 2500–1100 avant nôtre ère*, 1957, pl. 9). Cf. the examples from Graves 4 and 5 (Karo pl. 138, 600; 854) and the whole range of stone chalices from Zakros (Platon, *op. cit.* [n. 93], 64; 144; etc.).

99 *Thera* 4, 39, pl. 94–95. Cf. the silver ewer from Grave 4 (Karo pl. 134, 855) which is thought to be Minoan (Vermeule, *op. cit.* [n. 25], 28).

100 *Thera* 5, pl. K, where the wide blue and yellow bands on her arms probably represent gold and silver bracelets of the type found in Grave 4 (Karo pl. 92, 263, which were probably worn by a man).

101 *Thera* 5, pl. K (the "priestess'" large gold earrings with central cross); cf. the gold ornaments from Grave 3 (Karo pl. 20, 38). *Thera* 5, pl. G and H (the "ladies'" large gold hoops narrowing to the earlobe and without a central cross); cf. two pairs of earrings from Grave 3 of the same basic shape but with elaborations which the painter could probably not indicate (Karo pl. 20, 53; 61). Cf. also the earrings worn by the new women (*Ergon* 1973, 96, fig. 89).

but with enough evidence for late Middle Helladic connections to show that contact with Mycenae went back to the period of the earlier graves of Circle B, that is the late seventeenth century. That Mycenaeans were present on the island of Thera we must assume just as surely as we must postulate the presence of Minoans on the mainland of Greece. This is a period of coexistence and mutual enrichment rather than hostility, a period during which the civilizing of the mainlanders who had just emerged from their primitive Middle Helladic backgrounds took place. But it was also the time when the Minoan islanders, who already had a brilliant palatial period behind them, were strengthened for more serious overseas conquests. In addition to their seafaring skill which had been used for trade in the Middle Minoan period, there was needed the Mycenaean sword, and ultimately the horse and chariot, to create the empire period of Aegean expansion which culminated in the Late Helladic III A and B periods.

The fact that Minoans and Mycenaeans were not mutually antagonistic at all times has been obscured by the long-standing controversy among archaeologists who have allied themselves into pro-Minoan or pro-Helladic camps and who have belabored the problems as to whether and at what time Crete was politically in control of the mainland, and how and at what time the mainland broke that power. We should perhaps have suspected the reality of the situation long ago from the distribution of Aegean Late Bronze Age pottery in Egypt[102], and by the presence of Mycenaeans as well as Minoans at Trianda[103] and Miletus[104], but it has

[102] A. J. B. Wace and C. W. Blegen, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade and Colonization in the Aegean Bronze Age", *Klio* 32, 1939/40, 131–147; H. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AJA* 51, 1947, 33ff.; esp. 49–55.

[103] Monaco, "Scavi nella zona micenea di Jaliso, 1935–1936", *Clara Rhodos* 10, 1941, 45–178. The full implications of this material were developed by Furumark in a seminal, but now outdated article, "The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History, c. 1550–1400 B. C.", *OpusArch* 6, 1950, 150–271. Although the analysis of the pottery and the major conclusions for the earlier part are still valid, the decipherment of Linear B requires reassessment of the reasons for the destruction of the palace at Knossos, even if that event still seems to mark a significant turning point in Mycenaean expansion, at least in terms of its volume (Immerwahr, *op. cit.* [n. 8], 147ff.).

[104] The picture of Miletus as a purely Mycenaean colony established in LH I as put forward by Furumark (*OpusArch* 6, 1950, 201–203) on the basis of preliminary reports needs modification in the light of further excavations (cf. C. Weickert, *IstMitt* 7, 1957, 117ff.; *id.*, *IstMitt* 9/10, 1959/1960, 43–47, pl. 32–36). Fragments of painted plaster and Minoan pottery agree fairly closely with the material from Trianda, strata I and II A, with more Minoan than early Mycenaean sherds, but with *both* fabrics represented together in the same stratum.

taken the Thera frescoes with their vivid pictures of Minoan boats with Mycenaean soldiers aboard to make us aware that the colonizing movement was a two-fold enterprise, and that the Minoans needed the Mycenaeans. Just when the scales were tipped and the Mycenaeans became the stronger partner we do not yet know, but if we accept the evidence from the West House that the admiral was indeed a Mycenaean, it may well have been before rather than after the eruption of the Santorini volcano[105]. Although the political realities may still remain obscure, it is clear that Minoan art at this time is already becoming Mycenaean and that the miniature frescoes from the West House are the pictorial equivalent of the early Mycenaean art of the Shaft Graves.

[105] The dates for the abandonment of the settlement at Akrotiri and the possible connection of the final eruption with the destruction of the LM I B settlements in East Crete are still under investigation (*Thera* 3, 64–68; *Thera* 4,53f.; *Thera* 5,45f.; D. L. Page, *The Santorini Volcano and the Desolation of Minoan Crete*, 1970; M. S. F. Hood, *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 98–106). Until the pottery from Akrotiri has been completely studied and published and the vulcanologists have examined more samples from Minoan sites, it is premature to reach a conclusion. If one can argue from the miniature frescoes of the West House alone, a date after 1500 and perhaps approaching 1450 B. C. might seem indicated.

Vassos Karageorghis

A Cypro-Mycenaean III C:1 Amphora from Kition

A fragmentary amphora, largely restored with plaster, from Kition, Area II, found in fragments which were scattered on the street between Temples 4 and 5, at the top of the north wall of Temple 5 and at the bottom of *bothros* 21 in the courtyard of Temple 5, on floor III A, at a depth of 410 cm, No. 3806 A + B[1].

Ovoid body, short wide cylindrical neck, rim missing, two opposed flat handles from rim to shoulder; ridge around neckline; base ring. Height: 33 cm; mouth diameter (restored): 25 cm (Pl. A, 1–2). Buff pinkish hard clay, buff yellowish slip, orange to dark red mat paint.

The shoulder zone between the handles is decorated on both sides with rectangular panels containing abstract and pictorial motifs as follows:

Side A (Pl. B, 1–2): This zone is complete, except for a small part at its right extremity, near the handle, which is restored with plaster. There are five rectangular panels and space for a sixth near the handle on the extreme right, which are filled with the following motifs (from left to right): (a) two vertical rows of latticed lozenges flanked by vertical parallel lines; (b) zigzag horizontal parallel lines; (c) a bird to right, occupying the main part of the panel, with scale pattern in the upper and lower corner of the left side; a horizontal band filled with a zigzag line along the upper side of the panel; (d) a butterfly ornament rendered in solid paint except for the opposed angles which are reserved and contain a dot; there are two groups of scale pattern arranged in regular opposed triangles occupying the empty spaces at the upper and lower parts of the panel; (e) four fish motifs to the

[1] Fourteen years have elapsed since Professor Fritz Schachermeyr visited Kition, the very day when we discovered the now famous faience rhyton decorated with hunting scenes. During all these years he has been a constant friend of Cyprus and of the Department of Antiquities in particular. It is with great pleasure that we offer him this short study on one of the vases from Kition, of a type and period which interest him particularly. Some fragments were found in 1974, others in 1975. For a recent report on excavations at Kition see V. Karageorghis, *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, 1976.

right in a vertical row; there are traces of scale pattern along the right side of the panel.

The body of the bird in panel (c) is rendered in thick outline; it is bordered inside by dots and has solid paint at its central part; short tail rendered by parallel strokes; long legs in silhouette; neck missing; spreading wing in outline composed of groups of curved lines. Behind the bird's wing there is a small circle with dots all around it; near its legs bordering the vertical side of the panel there are two small joining semi-circles. The scales of the scale pattern contain a dot in the centre, like the scale pattern of panel (d). The fish motifs of panel (e) are rendered in outline and are filled with dots.

Side B (Pl. B, 2; C, 1) is very much damaged and only part of it is preserved. It is divided into six panels, filled with the same motifs as the panels on side A. There are three fishes in panel (e). The paint of the motifs in the sixth panel (f) is too worn off, but two vertical zigzag bands along the left and upper sides of the panel are clearly visible.

The bird in panel (c) has a long vertical neck in silhouette, except for a reserved circle with a dot in the centre for the eye. It seems that the bird turns its head to the back, with its beak touching its spreading wing.

Horizontal band on neckline; groups of horizontal parallel bands below the shoulder zone and at lower part of body; solid paint on foot.

Stratigraphically this vase belongs to the earliest period of the temple, which is dated to *ca* 1200 B. C.[2], corresponding with Enkomi's level III A, which is dated by Dikaios to *ca* 1220/10–1190[3].

From the point of view of fabric this is not a 'true Mycenaean' but a 'local' fabric, more in the tradition of the so-called 'Rude Style' or 'Pastoral Style' vases. The vases of this fabric are usually open craters with horizontal loop handles, but amphorae are not entirely unknown[4]. The paint, though mat, is of a good quality, recalling some of the early specimens of the 'Rude Style' or the Myc. III C:1b style[5]. Its local origin

[2] Two phases of floor III have been distinguished, the earliest we labelled III A and is found at a depth of 400 to 415 cm. The floor which is succeeding floor III A is floor III and is found at a depth of 390 to 395 cm. The two are distinctly separated by a burnt layer.

[3] P. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations 1948–1958*, 2, 1971, 487ff.

[4] V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du bronze récent à Chypre*, 1965, 239 n. 3; pl. 23, 7. For an amphora of the same shape from Kition, found in a Late Cypriote III A tomb, see Karageorghis, *BCH* 84, 1960, 537; fig. 53–54; cf. also an amphora from Kourion, B 1004, which is considered by J. Benson (*PEQ* 1960, 68f.) to be a Syrian import.

[5] For examples found at Enkomi cf. Dikaios, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 844ff.

is certain, and there is no reason, from the point of view of shape and fabric to assume that it is an import either from the Aegean or from the Near East[6].

Stylistically our amphora belongs to a series of vases which have been found at Enkomi in Levels III A and the early phase of III B (Pl. C, 1–2; D, 1). These are almost exclusively open craters, decorated with circumcurrent panelled pattern, which has been well defined by Dikaios as showing "certain idiosyncrasies[7]". He goes on to suggest that this style derived from imported Myc. III C:1b pottery which was introduced into the island during the Enkomi Level III A period (the same period as our amphora). This imported Myc. III C:1b style "opened up a new era of local ceramic creation which, although fundamentally based on that pottery, did not fail to give birth to some variations". He concludes that the characteristic example on his plate 306, no. 150, may be compared with 'Rude Style' bell-craters.

The craters with panelled decoration continue at Enkomi throughout the early period of Level III B (1190–1150 B. C.). Apart from the geometric patterns which fill the panels there are, like in the period of Level III A, pictorial motifs, like birds and fishes, which Dikaios considers as a local development in vase-painting, based on Mycenaean tradition (the Close Style of the Argolid) mingled with Cypriote or Near Eastern tendencies[8].

A very close parallel to our amphora from Kition is a bell-crater from Kourion, decorated with the same panelled decoration, with similar motifs including fishes in a vertical row (Pl. D, 2). Benson, who published this crater[9], considered it as a Syrian import, struck by the similarity of its decoration with some Near Eastern examples, though he discerned, at the same time, its Mycenaean affinities.

A stylistic analysis of the decoration of the Kition amphora may throw more light on this particular style which appears in Cyprus during the early stages of the Late Cypriote III A period and which coincides with the abundance of pottery of Myc. III C:1b style in the island, which was brought by the Achaean settlers.

[6] Cf. Benson, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 68.
[7] Dikaios, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 851; pl. 306, 150.
[8] *Ibid.*, 852f.
[9] Benson, *op. cit.* (n. 4), and *idem, Bamboula at Kourion*, 1972, 106.

The motifs which fill the various panels of the shoulder-zone of our amphorae occur frequently in the repertory of Myc. III C:1b style, during which the panelled patterns were very much *en vogue*[10].

The vertical rows of latticed lozenges flanked by vertical parallel lines, as they appear in panel (a), are quite common in Myc. III C:1 pottery[11]; the same may be said about the decoration of panel (b), which is filled with horizontal zigzag parallel lines[12]. The scale pattern with a dot within each scale as it appears in panels (c) and (d) often occurs in groups in the form of triangles or rectangles, or fills empty spaces in association with Myc. III C:1 pictorial motifs[13]. The bird in panel (c) on both sides of our amphora has close parallels in the Myc. III C:1 pictorial style[14] (Pl. E, 1–2) and so do the fishes in panel (e)[15].

If we compare the motifs in the panel of the Kition amphora with the panelled decoration of the Enkomi craters we may find a striking similarity between the two: the latticed lozenges flanked by vertical parallel lines of panel (a) are quite common[16]. The horizontal zigzags of panel (b) are also matched by specimens from Enkomi[17], and so are the scales of panels (c), (d) and (e), with or without dots[18]. The bird in panel (c) finds some close parallels from Enkomi, either in a normal position or with the head turned to the back[19]. Fishes occur at Enkomi usually during the period of Level III B[20], but the best parallels appear on crater B 1003 from Kourion[21].

The same style of panelled decoration appears on Kourion crater B 1003: we have already compared the fishes, arranged in a vertical row, both on the Kition and the Kourion vases. We may also mention the scale pattern with dots[22].

[10] Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, 1941 (repr. 1972), 416ff.
[11] Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 10), mot. 75:4.
[12] *Ibid.*, mot. 75, no. 18.
[13] S. E. Iakovidis, Περατή: Τὸ νεκροταφεῖον, 2, 1970, 107f.; fig. 8, 14.
[14] Iakovidis, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 148ff.; fig. 23, no. 569; Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 10), mot 7:39; also Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 39 (from Kition).
[15] Cf. Iakovidis, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 140ff.; fig. 21; Furumark, *op. cit.* (n. 10), mot. 20.
[16] Cf. Dikaios, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pl. 306,150; 307,205; 308,207.
[17] Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 307,160; 307,204; 307,206.
[18] Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 307,161; 307,167; 307,203; 307,205; 308,252.
[19] Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 307,183;307,184; 308,236.
[20] Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 309, 277; 309, 281.
[21] Benson, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pl. 3, fig. 7.
[22] *Ibid.*, pl. 4, fig. 8.

Benson in publishing the Kourion crater B 1003 was led to postulate a Syrian provenance, based on the shape, the motifs and the arrangement of the decoration. With regard to the shape Enkomi has produced so many bell-craters of the same form and of the panelled decoration, that a foreign origin for it may be excluded. The fabric and paint could not provide a safe criterion in view of the infinite variety which we observe not only among the various regions, but within the same area as well (e. g. Enkomi). It is true, however, that the arrangement of the decorative motifs in panels, especially the pictorial motifs placed one over the other, was very fashionable in Syria and Palestine with fishes and birds. Benson already mentioned the three-handled jar from Hama, with four fishes placed in a vertical row[23]. For birds in a vertical row one may bring examples from Megiddo and elsewhere[24]. One may even compare the Kition bird with its head turned backwards with birds from Megiddo[25]. The butterfly ornament which appears in panel (d) of the Kition amphora is common in Near Eastern pottery[26], and also the scale pattern with dots[27]. It is also tempting to compare the Kition bird with some of the birds on Philistine pottery[28]. The period *ca* 1200 B. C., however, was one of close contacts between the Aegean and the Near East. The very three-handled jar from Hama, the decoration of which was referred to by Benson as an example of Syrian pottery parallel to the Kourion B 1003 crater, is an imitation of Late Helladic III C:1 pottery[29]. Riis would see some influence from Mycenaean pottery in the creation of the so-called Gazelle-and-Bird and Palm-and-Panelled zigzag wares of Late Bronze Age Palestine which we referred to above[30]. He would accept that this influence may have come from Mycenaeanized parts of the East, e. g. Cyprus[31].

[23] *Ibid.*, 66.

[24] Cf. P. L. O. Guy, *Megiddo Tombs*, 1935, pl. 134; J. L. Starkey and L. Harding, *Beth-Pelet*, 2, 1932, pl. 58, 972; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, 3, 1912, pl. 165,1; M. Dothan, *Ashdod*, 1, 1967, pl. 15,6.

[25] E. g. Guy, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pl. 111.

[26] E. g. *ibid.*, pl. 134; Starkey and Harding, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pl. 58,920; 58,978; Macalister, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pl. 167,6–7; Dothan, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pl. 16,1–2.

[27] Guy, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 160; pl. 8,1; pl. 87,2; Dothan, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pl. 16,15.

[28] E. g. Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and their Material Culture*, 1967, 188.

[29] See recently P. J. Riis, in: *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"*, 1973, 200.

[30] *Ibid.*, 203.

[31] *Ibid.*, 205.

The above discussion brings the Kition amphora and the panelled decoration which appeared in Cyprus *ca* 1200 B. C. and during the first half of the 12th century into the general cultural framework which was characteristic of Cyprus during this period: a strong influence from the Aegean, with the introduction of Myc. III C:1b pottery, as a result of the Achaean colonization of Cyprus, but at the same time an influence from the Near East, with which Cyprus had traditionally close relations[32]. Furthermore the persistence of local Cypriote tradition, manifested in the forms of vases decorated in the panelled style, mainly the crater and the amphora, is also apparent. Such vase forms were favoured by the painters of the 'Rude Style' or 'Pastoral Style' which was still current at the time of Myc. III C:1b pottery in Cyprus[33]. The Kition amphora, therefore, studied in combination with the rich material from Enkomi (not yet published when Benson published Kourion crater B 1003), helps to bring forward a local Cypriote style which the Cypriote potter created as a result of an amalgamation of Aegean, Near Eastern and local elements[34].

Postscript

Professor J. Benson, to whom we sent photographs of the amphora and a draft text about it, very kindly commented upon it. Since his conclusions, when he published the Kourion crater in 1960, are different from ours, we thought we ought to have a statement from him in view of the new ceramic evidence from Enkomi and Kition. We are happy to reproduce here his comments:

"I am grateful to Dr. Karageorghis for this opportunity to comment on an important find in the excavations at Kition. The strikingly Mycenaean quality of the conception of the bird and the fish with their abundance of stippling and the careful execution of the background of scales is most impressive. The shape as well combines with these to make the attribution by Karageorghis to a local Cypriote workshop convincing. Thus, as I wished for at the conclusion of my study of B 1003, continuing excavation has brought further evidence to bear on the problems posed by that vessel and has brought its placement as a Cypriote artefact within the realm of possibility or probability. This is, I believe, worth further discussion.

[32] For a short account on historical events during this period see Dikaios, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 514–531.

[33] Cf. Dikaios, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 843f.

[34] Dikaios rightly compares this phenomenon with the emergence of the 'Rude Style' out of the standard Mycenaean III B pottery (*op. cit.* [n. 3], 851).

"I leave out of account here the question of fabric, as I do not have the opportunity of confronting B 1003 with Enkomi products which is available to Karageorghis. I must, however, still insist that certain peculiarities of shape which I analyzed in detail have not been very closely duplicated by any single Enkomi pot, even though the features are nearly all to be found scattered (but what about the rings on the pedestal?). But it is in the realm of decoration (and syntax), as Karageorghis points out, that there are close ties with the Syro-Palestinian littoral (especially the stacked fish motif). I will go into this a little more, since it might be appropriate to suggest an up-to-date study of this problem on a larger scale – which I am not in a position to make – bringing in the question of tendencies in syntax of local Mycenaean products even further afield, particularly including Cilicia. We may start from the fact that the panelled decoration of B 1003 does not make an impression of the Mycenaean spirit as immediately convincing as does that on the Kition amphora; it is as if the pull from this direction were weaker. Thus in the syntax of B 1003 are included interrupting blank zones as opposed to the densely filled field of the Kition amphora. It is also the general tendency at Enkomi (Dikaios, pl. 306:150; 307:202, 206; 308:230, 233) to treat the decorative surface as an area to be totally filled. Moreover, the designer of B 1003 has handled his motifs much more languidly than the Kition artist. For example, the cross-hatch (Benson, pl. III, Fig. 6) has been only partly and rather haphazardly filled in to make lozenges; the fish (Benson, pl. III, Fig. 7) are extremely schematic – one does not have eyes – and are roughly placed – one obliquely – under some irregular (and unfinished) geometric ornamentation. The triangles of the dot panel (Benson, pl. III, Fig. 5) are rather haphazardly and incompletely filled with inner decoration.

"My point is that I do not yet fully understand all these factors and would wish to make a full examination of comparative materials now available in Turkey and the Syro-Palestinian littoral as well as Cyprus before deciding definitely what relation B 1003 has to the Kition amphora. At present I do not see any parallels close enough to be called decisive workshop parallels in either Cyprus or the remaining Levant. It is worth recalling that B 1004 was also classified as Syrian; if this is acceptable we have imports from Syria to Kourion in the same period as B 1003. The discovery of the Kition amphora brings forcibly to expression the interpenetration of cultures in the Levant at this time."

KONRAD H. KINZL

Athens: Between Tyranny and Democracy*

[1]It is a familiar picture of undeniably Aristotelian (and late-nineteenth-century) features: Athenian Democracy evolved step by step and without reverses from Kleisthenes on. History, however, does not know Aristotle, nor his teleology. Cracks in this classicistic marble monument have been pointed out: the most serious challenge on one particular question of detail came from Badian in 1971[2]. The first comprehensive attempt, however, at rewriting Athenian constitutional history from Kleisthenes to Ephialtes was not made until more recently. Jochen Martin's formulations in the concluding pages of his paper would deserve to be quoted extensively. The following, however, must suffice: "Die Demokratie in Athen war nicht das Ergebnis eines bewußt auf Demokratisierung ausgerichteten Handelns[3]."

The thoughts expressed in the present paper were conceived in their general thrust before I obtained a copy of Martin's study. I shall here deal with only those problems to which I may be able to add a new aspect. My approach will be chronological, if only for the sake of convenience[4].

* *Friderico Schachermeyr magistro optimo amico D.D.D.*

[1] Most of the material incorporated in this study was read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of Ancient Historians (May 1975). I am especially grateful to Professor Martin Ostwald and to Dr E. F. Bloedow; their criticism was invaluable in preparing that paper. I am also grateful to many colleagues from whose criticism I benefited (in the formal discussion and in private conversation), and in particular to Professors A. Andrewes, E. Badian, C. W. Fornara, A. J. Podlecki, A. E. Raubitschek, M. E. White, and Dr E. Kluwe, who all put me in their debt by communicating to me their criticism of various contentions put forward in my presentation. They are of course in no way responsible for the contents of the present contribution (nor should their agreement be inferred).

[2] E. Badian, "Archons and *Strategoi*", *Antichthon* 5, 1971, 1–34 (I am grateful to Prof. Badian for an offprint).

[3] J. Martin, "Von Kleisthenes zu Ephialtes: Zur Entstehung der Athenischen Demokratie", *Chiron* 4, 1974, 5–42 (I am grateful to Dozent Martin for an offprint); the quotation is from p. 40.

[4] This poses certain problems of presentation, since some historical *peripeteiai* may be best interpreted by later events (my view regarding the intended purpose of ostracism

1. From Hippias to Isagoras. – The question of citizenship is in many societies a preoccupation of especial urgency; citizenship was instantly to become the most important issue after the departure of the Peisistratids. The so-called *Diapsephismos*[5] represented a first attempt at restoring order in the citizenship: some citizens were disfranchised[6], others were confirmed[7], and still others were newly enrolled in the *four* tribes *by Kleisthenes*[8]. A decree outlawing the use of torture on Athenian *citizens* was passed in the archonship of Skamandrios[9], plausibly placed in

[see 209], for example, is crucially significant to the development of my ideas presented in Section One). It has been my desire throughout not to get caught up in *minutiae*. I have attempted to detect a general pattern, according to which every detail would eventually fall into place. My reconstruction will, I suggest, have to be replaced *in toto*, if I should have seen things the wrong way.

[5] The term "was used technically for the ἐξέτασις τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ κατὰ δήμους γινομένη, . . . for the regular entering of the sons of citizens into the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον", as well as for "extraordinary scrutinies" (Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3b Suppl. Text, 157,35ff.); see Hesych. 1474 διαψήφισις (1, 447 Latte); cf. *Ath. pol.* 42,1, where the verb διαψηφίζειν applies to the regular practice of oath-taking of the *demotai* at the occasion of enrolling free-born Athenians upon their reaching maturity. The only *Diapsephismos* which constituted an extraordinary scrutiny and which is "historically certain" (Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 157,33f.) was performed in 346/45. Aristotle's use of this particular term in a late-sixth-century context is not surprising, since the *Ath. pol.* (at least in its historical survey) is loaded with anachronistic terminology and interpretation. The remark in the *Ath. pol.* does confirm, however, that its author found in his sources something which lent itself to anachronistic interpretation: that certain events occurred immediately after the expulsion of the Peisistratids which affected the legal status of some Athenian residents; and that these had not been forgotten by the collective memory of the Athenians.

[6] See *Ath. pol.* 13,5.

[7] This is implied by the ambiguous nature of the procedure of the *Diapsephismos*.

[8] In support of this conclusion I cite: (a) the reference to *neopolitai* at *Ath. pol.* 21,4; (b) Aristotle's curious remark in *pol.*1275b36: . . .*Κλεισθένης* μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν· πολλοὺς γὰρ *ἐφυλέτευσε* ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. The verb φυλετεύω is rare (no other passages are cited in LSJ[9]). It is closely paralleled by the verb δημοτεύεσθαι (LSJ[9] cite Lysias, Antiphon, Demosthenes). Fourth-century citizenship decrees refer (without exception, as far as I could ascertain) to all three jurisdictions: *phyle, demos, phratria* (*IG*² 2–3, 4, 1, p. 55 [index], πολιτεία). In his description of the ephebic procedure (*Ath. pol.* 42), Aristotle naturally begins with the doings in the *demoi*. Why did Aristotle use the unusual verb (in spite of his tending towards the opposite type of anachronism)? I can only assume: because he realized that (immediately after the expulsion of the tyrants) citizenship was still conferred by enrolling people in one of the ancient *four phylai* (before the *demoi* had assumed the key role in administering citizenship – δημοτεύεσθαι).

[9] Andok. 1 *Myst.* 43. Cf. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, 1969, 140 – who also dates the "revival" of the "Draconian Law", "under which anyone attempting or abetting the establishment of a tyranny at Athens was declared an outlaw" (*loc. cit.*) – together with the stele mentioned at Thuk. 6,55,1f. in the same context.

510/09[10]. In these and other proceedings Kleisthenes will have enlisted the support of a sufficient number of fellow nobles with their following in their home districts[11]: Kleisthenes surely was active in *concrete* terms (more concrete than "throwing weight", "coming off worse", and "acquiring the *Demos*", as Hdt. [5,66; 5,69,2] pleases to put it), in order to be evicted by the same Spartan king who had recently led him back.

In the turbulent times after the liberation from tyranny the so-called *Diapsephismos* and related measures quite conceivably had turned out in a fashion which was apt to cause confusion. Isagoras, about whose ideas as to how Athens should be governed we are well informed, regarded it his duty to restore order by calling in Kleomenes once more. His concept of order was arbitrary and his methods despotic; he was thwarted by the aristocratic majority which had been forged by Kleisthenes: the Council of Four-Hundred resisted its demise, its followers among the common people rallied in support[12], Isagoras and his party sought refuge on the Akropolis and surrendered on the third day. Kleisthenes returned once more[13].

Ostwald does not, however, recognize Kleisthenes as the moving force behind all this. (On Athenian legislation against tyranny see Ostwald, *TAPhA* 86, 1955, 103–128.)

[10] T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* 68, 1948, 113; cf. Ostwald, *Nomos*, 141.

[11] This transpires quite clearly from Hdt. (*pace* Aristotle's understanding of Hdt., *Ath. pol.* 20,1). In Hdt. 5,66,2 we read that ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον *προσεταιρίζεται*. The same verb occurs in only two more places (3,70,2 and 3,70,3). There Otanes proceeds in his conspiratory plans against the Pseudo-Bardiya by first acquiring (παραλαβών, 3,70,1) Aspathines and Gobryes; next the three decide ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων *προσεταιρίσασθαι* τοῦτον ὅτεῳ πιστεύει μάλιστα; accordingly Otanes acquires (ἐσάγεται, 3,70,2) Intaphrenes, Gobryes Megabyxos, and Aspathines Hydarnes; these six then resolve καὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον *προσεταιρίσασθαι* (3,70,3). None of these men would have been desirable acquisitions had they not commanded a considerable following among their subjects. In the case of Kleisthenes the required massive following could only be delivered by their noble leaders. The two passages display, as it were, two sides of one and the same coin – omitting the figures of the leaders at 5,66,2 (perhaps simply because Hdt. did not know their names), while omitting the mass of the followers of the leaders at 3,70,2f. Ostwald, *Nomos*, 143, clearly realizes the problem but unnecessarily separates the people from their aristocratic leaders: Kleisthenes "made the people that which his aristocratic ἑταῖροι had been before, namely, the main source of his political support". Hdt., incidentally, makes it plain that he does not envisage anything of the kind Aristotle infers from the verb προσεταιρίζομαι by alternating it with προστίθεσθαι (5,69,2), παραλαμβάνειν (3,70,1) and ἐσάγεσθαι (3,70,2), as if they were synonymous. On the corresponding meaning of *demos* at Hdt. 5,66,2 and 5,69,2 see my forthcoming study in *Gymnasium*.

[12] Cf. Ostwald, *Nomos*, 144.

[13] Hdt. 5,66–73; cf. *Ath. pol.* 20. Note esp. Hdt. 5,72,2, explicitly stating that it was the followers of the men in the *Boule* (aristocrats no doubt), the commoners, that is, who enabled the Council to resist. One may also venture to guess that it was the sheer efficacy of that *Boule* with men (leaders and followers) from many of the villages which counted among the factors that inspired the *Demoi* reform.

2. From Isagoras to 501/500. – One often reads that *Kleisthenes* achieved this and that *Kleisthenes* accomplished that, as if he occupied a position of superior power – a new Solon, as it were. As a former *archon eponymos*[14] it is true that he sat on the Areios-Pagos-Council; otherwise his political power was of an unofficial[15] nature. It is the *politician* Kleisthenes who moved the reform bills, not the holder of office. The lessons he had learnt during and after the era of the Peisistratids he shared with numerous members of the Attic aristocracy[16]. It was only the latter who could deliver the mass vote in the Assembly[17]. The politician Kleisthenes, in order to obtain these votes, must have relied on a consensus of a majority of his fellow nobles. To ascribe to the laws of Kleisthenes intentions blatantly anti-aristocratic is unrealistic: the example of Isagoras splendidly demonstrates how one could fail by ignoring the realities of politics. Kleisthenes stands out as the symbol not of the towering statesman who, possessed by visions of a democratic Athens, undeterred moves to carry them out in total isolation from political reality, but of the practical politician who succeeded in practising consensus politics against the background of both the experiences and mistakes of the past and the most urgent needs of the present, aristocrat in an aristocratic environment. A re-examination of the development of the Athenian constitution in the late sixth century, however, will inevitably have to turn first to the figure of Kleisthenes. We need not concern ourselves with the "minimalists": we may take it for granted that the man who could prevail on the priests of Delphoi to abandon the Peisistratids[18], who was instrumental in ac-

[14] B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, 59ff.; *SEG* 10 no. 352; cf. D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 187ff. and plates 58f.

[15] Kleisthenes was in fact appointed *thesmothetes* by Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* 2^2, 402), or *archon eponymos* for 509/08; cf. Schachermeyr, *Klio* 25, 1932, 335 = *Forschungen und Betrachtungen zur griechischen und römischen Geschichte*, 1975, 61, against these attempts.

[16] E. g. Alkibiades (Isokr. 16,25; *PA* no. 597; Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, 1971, 15); Kallias ([Hdt.] 6,122; *PA* no. 1833; Davies, *op. cit.*, 255f.); Leogoras (Andok. 1 *Myst.* 106; *PA* no. 9074; Davies, *op. cit.*, 27f.).

[17] If the situation of the Little Man deteriorated after the Good Old Days of the Old Tyrant, it would have been at least as much because of the discord among the nobles after liberation from tyranny as it was because of Peisistratid despotism. The diminished stature of Athens in foreign policy weakened her foreign trade; movement of aliens to Athens decreased; the absence or even dispossession of aristocratic leaders throughout Attica disrupted farming, trade and commerce. For these measures did not signify social reform, but constituted plain acts of vengeance. If the situation of the nobles improved, so would that of the commoners.

[18] Hdt. 5,62f.; cf. *Hermes* 102, 1974, 179–190, and esp. *RhM* 118, 1975, 193ff.

complishing a major revamping of Athenian government – that this man cannot be reduced to a failed would-be-tyrant or less[19]. On the other hand, we should not, as historians, concern ourselves with what might be called the "optimalist's" approach.

Connected with citizenship[20] are property-rights, marriage-rights, participation in the political and judicial bodies, and other factors of great concern – not to mention the most significant of all, namely, the irrational element. If the so-called *Diapsephismos* was at least partly a miscarriage, measures surely had to be taken to prevent future injustice and disorder. In the form of the new administrative *demoi*-structure the Attic State, now for the first time in its history, was put on a firm, unshakable basis – in contrast to the previous condition of a loose conglomerate of overlapping blocks determined by such diverse factors as region[21], clan allegiance, communion of cult[22], kinship[23]. A clearly defined procedure, regulated by the principle of due process of law and placing the responsibility with the *demotai*, was finally created for the purpose of controlling and administering citizenship. Kleisthenes evidently had well learnt the lesson[24] which he *and* Athens had been taught[25].

The introduction of the administration of Attica based on the *demoi* can be described as nothing less than a measure of truly unique importance for the development of politics and society in Athens over the next several centuries. By following Aristotle[26] this move is often represented as having been designed to shake up and tear down the old established links of kinship throughout Attica. I do not propose here to argue either against or in favour of the view that eventually this was achieved, since the final result does not necessarily, and not even as a rule, reveal the intents and purposes of the original move. Just as in most wars armies are best

[19] Thus, for instance, E. Ruschenbusch, *Gnomon* 43, 1971, 414–416 (review of Ostwald, *Nomos*).

[20] Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, 2, 1971, 205–207. See also the excellent observations of D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, 38 (cf. also 35, and A. Andrewes, *JHS* 81, 1961, 13f.).

[21] Cf. R. Sealey, *Historia* 9, 1960, 155–180 = *Essays in Greek Politics*, 9–38.

[22] Cf. S. Solders, *Die außerstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, 1931.

[23] Cf. still J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 1889 (repr. 1973).

[24] Cf. D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, 37 (Kleisthenes "had learnt . . .").

[25] It must be stressed that complex reform surely cannot start at the top of the structure, but must begin at its base: the *demoi*, that is. The *demoi* reform was the first step, the *demoi* are the fundament of all further reform. Cf. the remarks of D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, 38.

[26] Aristot. *pol.* 1319b26; *Ath. pol.* 21,1 and 3 (it is to the credit of Hdt. that he does not know anything of all this).

prepared to fight the previous war, political reform only too often fails to cure the problems of the present, while it would have cured those of the past, and its accomplishments may never have been intended.

It is for considerations of the above kind, namely, that the *demoi* reform was prompted by recent experience, that I abandoned the chronology[27] suggested by Hdt. Since the so-called *Diapsephismos* and the *demoi* reform were both aimed at one and the same problem – citizenship –, and since the second measure is far more incisive than the first, I cannot but conclude that the second act of *reform* was designed to supersede and correct the first action, which represented little more than the application of existing procedures. While it is not impossible that Kleisthenes and his collaborators recognized the need for more far-reaching measures and actually introduced legislation inaugurating *reform* even before the usurpation of Isagoras and the intervention of Kleomenes, this does not appear to be more than a possibility. Historical probability would suggest a more distinctive, if not violent, interlude (such as the Isagoras affair) as the cause for the *peripeteia* of the *demoi* reform.

The *demoi* in their new role will no doubt also have allowed for the development (or continuation) of local allegiances, loyalties, identities – yet by scattering it through well over a hundred[28] such small units a stronger sense of common identity on the part of all Athenians was created[29]. In the past the great heads of the great, supra-regional clans had been able to exert far more influence on the affairs of state than they would under the new order. The heads of the numerous houses could now more independently secure greater influence at the local level. A body of followers large enough and powerful enough to frustrate lawful

[27] See V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, ²1973, 411 n. 34 on "theories . . . of an exact chronology of the events". Hdt. 5,66 and 69, and Aristot. *Ath. pol.* 20f. are reconciled in the interpretations of Schachermeyr, *Klio* 25, 1932, 345 = *Forschungen* 71; H. T. Wade-Gery, CQ 27, 1933, 17–19 = *Essays in Greek History*, 1958, 136ff.; Ostwald, *Nomos* 142ff. Hdt. and his defenders would be vindicated if the first dithyrambic *agon* (*MP*, *FGrHist* 239 A 46), which was a contest of phylic *choroi*, could be shown to have been performed by *ten choroi* in early 508 (on the date see Cadoux, *op. cit.* [n. 10], 113).

[28] It appears now as generally agreed that Kleisthenes did not establish exactly one hundred *demoi* (*pace* Bengtson, *Griech. Gesch.*⁴, 144); cf. Schachermeyr, *Die frühe Klassik der Griechen*, 1966, 69; Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, 411 n. 36; J. S. Traill, The Political Organization of Attica, *Hesperia*, Supplement 14, 1975, 96ff.

[29] I follow the view that *demoi* consisted of people and were not defined by boundaries drawn on a map, as territorial units: Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, 92 and 411 n. 35a; Traill, *op. cit.*, 73f. with n. 6; W. E. Thompson, *SO* 46, 1971, 72–79; all against C. W. J. Eliot, The Coastal Demes of Attica, *Phoenix*, Supplement 5, 1962.

government was to become infinitely more difficult to forge than had been the case in the era of Megakles, Lykourgos and Peisistratos[30].

Herodotos tells us of Kleisthenes' reform of *demoi* and *phylai*[31]; to this Aristotle adds some *nomoi*, of which he identifies only the one on ostracism[32]. Kleisthenes disappears without a trace. He remains a mere shadow – which is in stark contrast to Herodotos' remarkable art of portrayal accorded many a Greek or barbarian. Could Herodotos actually have known more than the little he records? Kleisthenes seems to have been alive in the collective memory of the Athenians only in connexion with the abolishing of the old tribes and the creating of a new administrative order based on the *demoi* and the new ten *phylai*; he was also remembered as having played a major part in the rigmarole of Isagoras and Kleomenes, but only faintly and in a secondary sense. Rather than concentrate exclusively on the person of Kleisthenes and expend too much ingenuity on relatively minor problems (such as absolute chronology)[33], I suggest that we *lump together whatever innovative legislation was enacted from the return of Kleisthenes to 501/500 under the heading "Kleisthenic Reforms"* and delineate the general thrust and spirit of reform in its immediate significance and in its far-reaching meaning. This will certainly do a greater service to the historical Kleisthenes (and to history) than will a personality-cult.

The actual implementation of the *demoi*-to-*phylai* laws may have been a long drawn-out affair. The enrolling of the citizens as *demotai* in the citizen lists in their *demoi* will have been a straightforward procedure[34]. The process of establishing the *trittyes* and the *phylai* could have taken time (in view of the complexities by which generations of scholars have been kept busy). It would of course be anachronistic to think of an

[30] If several closely related *oikuai* of one and the same *genos* came to be enlisted in different *demoi* (with different local concerns and identities), this (I should surmise) would have been an act by which the power and influence of the one chief exponent of each *genos* was reduced as much as it is alleged to have increased his political strength; see Bicknell, *Historia*, Einzelschriften 19, 1972, 1–53 (who thinks that this was Kleisthenes' clever way of packing the *Boule* with "Alkmeonids": it seems somewhat surprising that this went undetected in his own time and later).

[31] Hdt. 5,66,2; 5,69,2; 6,131,1; cf. *Ath. pol.* 21,2–6.

[32] *Ath. pol.* 22,1.

[33] Cf. n. 27.

[34] See W. E. Thompson, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 75f., against C. W. J. Eliot, *op. cit.* (n. 29), 148 with n. 18. There may have been some cases of doubtful citizenship despite – or because of – the so-called *Diapsephismos*. In the face of storm-clouds gathering on all horizons it ought to have been carried out swiftly, in order to have a citizen's army undivided by discord.

appointed or elected "commission" charged with carrying out the provisions of the new law; it is very likely, however, that a fair number of politically active and generally experienced men who had supported the new legislation now also became involved in ensuring its effective implementation. It would seem only too obvious that in the course of the actual "field-work" certain difficulties were encountered which, in due course, inspired modification. Such features would provide the explanation for the fact that the *trittyes*[35], though firmly established, were never to rise to such a degree of political significance as to equal that of the *demoi* and *phylai*.

The newly forged *demoi-trittyes-phylai* structure inaugurated the presence of a new *Demos* in a new *Ekklesia;* it necessitated aligning to it these bodies of government next to the *Demos*, namely, the Council and the military commanders of the *Demos*[36]. It is significant, however, that not at this point attention was paid to the condition of both the Areios-Pagos-Council and the archonship.

Rhodes persuasively argued that the powers of the Kleisthenic *Boule* were the relatively minor ones of a probouleutic body, though the Council's "powers [were] not reduced [from those of the Solonian Council of Four-Hundred] but considerably increased"[37]. Rhodes also reaffirmed the attractive view that the first convening of the Council of Five-Hundred is contemporaneous with the Bouleutic Oath of (presumably) 501/500 with its clauses restricting the new powers of the new *Boule*[38]. I find it difficult to regard the oath as "democratic"[39] – yet it does constitute a measure of significance beyond that of simply

[35] Cf. on the *trittyes* D. W. Bradeen, *TAPhA* 86, 1955, 22–30; D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, 34ff.

[36] On these measures cf. the recent monographs: Traill, *op. cit.* (n. 28); Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, 1972; C. W. Fornara, *Historia*, Einzelschriften 16, 1971.

[37] Rhodes, *op. cit.*, 206; for the opposite view see, e. g., Bicknell, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 36.

[38] Rhodes, *op. cit.* (n. 36), 210; the clauses are conveniently accessible in Rhodes, 194 (with detailed discussion, 190–199). The date hinges on that of the archonship of Hermokreon (*Ath. pol.* 22,2); 504/03 would be an alternative possibility. See Cadoux, (n. 10), 115f. One of the chief attractions of the synchronism (and therefore of the political connexion) of the introduction of the Bouleutic Oath and the inauguration of bouleutic routine work is that it neatly eliminates the disturbing question as to why, after only a few years of existence, the Council of Five-Hundred needed a new charter (cf. for an example of such hypothesizing R. A. de Laix, Probouleusis at Athens, *University of California Publications in History* 83, 1973, 21–25). Cf. Kinzl, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[39] It is not an unequivocal recommendation that Demosthenes (24 *Tim.* 48) refers to it as "Solonian" (despite late-fifth-century accretions).

implementing the Kleisthenic Reforms[40]. Among the clauses which appear to belong to the archaic Bouleutic Oath[41] we read one forbidding the incarceration of an Athenian citizen, if he is able to offer bond[42]. This provision is strikingly reminiscent of the concerns of Kleisthenes: we recall the decree passed in the archonship of Skamandrios[43], with its reassertion of the inviolable rights of the Athenian citizen; it also reflects the general tenor of all new legislation of that period: paramount concern in securing due process of law. This demonstrates that the spirit of reform and its main direction were still valiant forces at the end of the decade and the century, and after the disappearance of Kleisthenes (because of death, illness, or some other reason).

The *strategia* reform (to be in force in 501/500)[44] also represents another step towards the logical extension of the *demoi-trittyes-phylai* structure[45], though it appears less easily explicable. Martin simply states[46] that the *phylai* reform necessitated the reorganizing of the command structure below the *archon polemarchos;* that electing generals is no more democratic than electing archons; that he "does not see how one could attribute to it any particularly democratic significance". Surely, more can be said in justifying one's position.

From 501/500 on, to begin with, the number of *elective* chief officials of the State was double the earlier number (increased from nine to nineteen). Neither election nor sortition, however, are democratic by definition: it is context and intention that establish the true character of the procedure[47]. Was the door now thrown wide open and were "democrats" recruited to the board of generals? First, it would appear logical that

[40] "Eine einfache Vollzugsmaßnahme der kleisthenischen Reformen" (Martin, *op. cit.* [n. 3], 23).

[41] We should like to know more about the degree of authenticity and the date of the Heliastic Oath, which explicitly refers to *Boule* and *Demos* (quoted by Demosth. 24,149f. – immediately after his reference to the Bouleutic Oath).

[42] Demosth. 24,144.

[43] See above 200f. with n. 10.

[44] This date implies that the political and constitutional manœuvres leading up to the first-ever election of the ten *strategoi* for 501/500 took place over an unknown period of time, to come to a conclusion in early 501 at the latest. If the first formal session of the Council of Five-Hundred falls in the same year 501/500, this raises interesting questions of a procedural kind: what was the role of the Areios-Pagos-Council and of the People's Assembly relative to each other; did the old Council of Four-Hundred still function? No answer offers itself readily, so that we had better relegate it to the realm of speculation. Cf., however, Kinzl, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[45] Cf. Fornara, *op. cit.* (n. 36), 1–10.

[46] Martin, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 23f. (in six-and-a-half lines).

[47] Cf. Martin 26f.

the *strategoi* as the commanders of the citizens' levy would have to own real estate[48]. The timocratic qualifications which applied to the archonship may also have been invoked for the generalship – they were, at all events, implied: no ordinary individual could have afforded devoting one entire year's efforts to holding office without renumeration; the aristocratic exclusiveness of the *strategia*, if not explicitly spelt out, by these two qualifications was implicitly ensured. The first attested Athenian *strategos*, Melanthios, who led the Athenian contingent in Ionia, was a man τῶν ἀστῶν τὰ πάντα δόκιμος[49].

As for the actual procedure of election, there is no evidence: we are entirely dependent on speculation[50]. I incline to think that candidates were preselected by the *Boule* according to *Phylai*[51], where the councillors would of course have turned to honourable names from their own *demoi*. The probable synchronism[52] of Bouleutic Oath and *strategia* reform would thus be mutally corroborated.

The career of Melanthios, incidentally, may have become a precedent by showing that, irrespective of the question whether Melanthios did or did not expect to assume a prominent role at the time he set his sights on the generalship[53], one could more easily win the palm as a *strategos* abroad than as an *archon* at home: herein may lie the explanation as to why in this period *archontes* seem to have been persons of lesser distinction than we should like to expect[54].

There is, then, little evidence to support the view that the *strategia* reform represented a determined effort to "democratize" Athenian

[48] That much is suggested, in fact, by Deinarchos (1,71); his statement is accepted by Hignett, *Hist. Ath. Const.*, 191f. with n. 7; 224 n. 10.

[49] Hdt. 5,97,3.

[50] The vexed question of "Double Representation" fortunately does not affect our argument. On the *strategia* cf. Fornara, *op. cit.* (n. 36); N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 19, 1969, 111–144 = *Studies in Greek History*, 1973, 346–394; M. Piérart, *BCH* 98, 1974, 125–146.

[51] Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, 1957, 127 with 159 n. 161; Bicknell, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 104 and esp. 105. I posit the same procedure for the archons, see below 216ff. with n. 97–102.

[52] See above 206.

[53] The name is not connected in any of our sources with one of the famous *oikiai*. If he was also involved in drafting the legislation setting up the board of generals, as is not improbable, we should have another indication as to the "aristocratic" character of the reforms (see Hdt. 5,97,3, quoted in the text). There are three ostraka of a Melanthios Phalanthou; one of Phalanthos Spintharou; one of Spintharos Eu[boulou Probalinthios?]; see Meiggs & Lewis p. 46; Thomsen, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 77ff. Is there any connexion with the tragedian Melanthios (*TrGF* 23 Melanthios 1, esp. T 1a–b = Plut. *Kimon* 4,1; 9)?

[54] The starting point of Badian's arguments, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

politics. If in later ages the *strategia* did develop into a spring-board for demagogues and a characteristic institution of Athenian Democracy, it is by no means obvious that this would have been intended by the original amendment of 501.

Ostracism[55], finally, provides us with a characteristic example of a gesture which could also be turned into a "democratic" measure: it certainly had not been conceived as such by its originator. Ostracism does bear the familiar trade-mark of Kleisthenic Reform: it was designed to prevent the recurrence of an ugly feature of the Peisistratid past; judgement was to be passed by the *Demos;* due process of law is emphatically asserted. It is aristocratic interests, however, which it was to serve first and foremost – for it was the landed aristocrats who had suffered most from arbitrary exile-cum-dispossession[56]. By guaranteeing usufructuary enjoyment of property and income thereof, the new law protected the rights of those who played an important role in politics and society; who had in the past for this reason been exiled and dispossessed; who did have an estate in land. The original purpose of the law on ostracism in the context of Kleisthenic Reform was a protective one, and it was to protect aristocratic concerns. But it was badly thought out; it served best while left untouched in the scabbard – once implemented as a political weapon, however, it could only too easily be misused. It is, so far as I am aware, the only law in the Athenian constitution to fall into disrepute and finally into disuse, and one that never was emended.

We have reached the end of the period of the implementation and extension of the Kleisthenic work of reform. Not one of the measures we have surveyed can appropriately be termed "democratic" – neither individually nor in sum: they had issued from the immediate situation after the expulsion of the Peisistratids; they had been inspired by the personal experiences of their promoters among the aristocracy; they could be carried, and carried out, because the aristocratic consensus produced

[55] On the ostracisms of the 480s see below. There is no point in rehearsing the merciless and unabated outpour of studies on this particular institution.
A solid survey of the situation in early 1969: E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens", *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple,* 2nd Series, 1973, 215–270. Very serviceable: R. Thomsen, The Origin of Ostracism: A Synthesis, *Humanitas* 4, 1972 (158 pp.).

[56] Known cases: see n. 16. The "new capitalists" should always have been able to flee with enough cash stuffed in their boots – it must have been an entirely different matter for the old landed families, especially for those who had not been in a position to enrich themselves at the invitation of Kroisos.

the majority of assembly votes which are needed under any constitution, unless the constitution is suspended by a tyrant or despot or by despotic oligarchy.

3. The 490s. – The first decade of the fifth century is documented more poorly than the entire last third of the preceding century. The prosopographer finds little with which to occupy himself in this decade – unless he takes to inventing *prosopa*. We know the names of eleven figures of prominence: eight archons[57]; one *strategos*[58]; one tragic poet[59]; one refugee-repatriate[60]. The historian is equally disappointed, since facts are even fewer: Athenian participation in the sack of Sardis and subsequent withdrawal from Ionia[61]; possibly some harbour construction in the archonship of Themistokles[62]; the performance of a tragic play on the sack of Miletos and the fining of its author by the People's Assembly[63]; Miltiades' narrow escape to Athens from his domain on the Thracian Chersonese, his prosecution and acquittal in a court of law of a charge of "tyranny" in the Chersonese, his election "by the *Demos*" as a *strategos* for 490/89[64]. There is – significantly – no trace of further attempts at constitutional reform.

Attempts have been made to reconstruct the history of the 490s by conjuring up pictures of violent party-struggle; by inventing a tyrannist party and identifying its leader; by tracing the ups and downs of this party and the corresponding downs and ups of its opponents; by having the "Alkmeonids" involved in wheeling and dealing – is all this the most obvious, the simplest response to a rather simple challenge?[65] Little has

[57] Cadoux, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 116f.; D. M. Lewis, *CR* 12, 1962, 201. Fornara's challenge of Themistokles' archonship 493/92 (*Historia* 20, 1971, 534–540) was rejected by D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 22, 1973, 757f. and W. W. Dickie, *Historia* 22, 1973, 758f.

[58] Melanthios, Hdt. 5,97,3.

[59] See n. 63; n. 68f.

[60] See n. 64.

[61] Hdt. 5,97–103,2.

[62] Thuk. 1,93,3. Cf. Fornara, *op. cit.* (n. 57) and Dickie, *op. cit.* (n. 57). J. S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B. C., *Scripta Archaeologica Groningiana*, 4, 1970, 37; Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles*, 1975, 179ff. (I am grateful to Professor Podlecki for generously providing photostats of several pages in advance of publication.)

[63] Hdt. 6,21,2. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, ³1972, 60. Badian, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 15 n. 44, would remove the incident from the 490s altogether.

[64] Hdt. 6,41; 6,104,2. Cf. Kinzl, Miltiades-Forschungen, *Dissertationen der Universität Wien*, 24, 1968, *passim; Hermes* 104, 1976, 287.

[65] Cf. Badian, *op. cit.* (n. 2), *passim*. I am taking the liberty of passing over the relevant bibliography in silence.

been recorded about these years, I suggest, because little worth recording happened.

Athens' role in the Ionian revolt fails to clarify matters. The decision to support the Ionians was a measure of foreign policy. Such decisions may, or may not, throw light on the issues and divisions in internal politics. The same clique and the same Assembly, which had promoted and voted in favour of intervention could without loss of face reverse its position. One can also think of any number of possible reasons of a totally non-political nature, which would deserve as much credence (and are equally unattested) as the pro-Persian pro-tyrant "party"[66].

Phrynichos' tragedy on the sack of Miletos[67] is lost; we do not possess lines that are crucially significant for restoring the message of the playwright. The proverb πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι[68], however, runs like an iambic trimeter, and it has attractively been conjectured to be a verse from Phrynichos' play[69]. I should prefer to think that Phrynichos was fined because he painted – in bad taste – an unflattering picture of the Milesians[70].

Miltiades' return and re-entry into Athenian politics was caused by external forces and has therefore to be treated as a separate case. He was dragged before the courts by his *echthroi*, who remain anonymous[71] – we must leave it at that: it would, however, have been a miracle in Greek politics if he had had no enemies. It is probable that his trial coincided with the ill-fated expedition of Mardonios against Greece[72]; it gauged the mood of the people and his acquittal greatly strengthened the case of resistance. Miltiades, the grand old aristocrat and member of the Areios-Pagos-Council, obviously was popular enough with the masses and with a sufficient number of fellow nobles, who delivered the necessary number of votes to get him elected *strategos*. Miltiades had been watching ships go by the Chersonese during much of his lifetime; Miltiades also was the first

[66] E. g. problems of communication between Athens and her general (or generals?) in Ionia (this is the first instance since the Trojan War that an Athenian armada landed in Asia Minor); a conflict of personalities between Melanthios and Aristagoras; Athenian elation (and bad judgement) after the burning of Sardis; despondency after the defeat at Ephesos; sudden timidity – and so forth.

[67] If it belongs here at all: see Badian (n. 63).

[68] *Suda* Π 61 (*Lexicogr. Gr.* 1, 4, 8, 12 Adler); Synes. *ep.* 80, 228D; Pseudo-Zenob. 5,80 (*Corp. Paroem. Gr.* 1, 152).

[69] B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktisissagen*, 1947, 187 n. 1.

[70] Cf. Hdt.' curious remarks about Kleisthenes' alleged anti-Ionianism at 5,69,2.

[71] Hdt. 6,104,2; cf. n. 64. It would be idle speculation to "identify" these *echthroi*.

[72] Hdt. 6,43–45; 6,94,2.

Athenian to launch a major naval campaign into the Aegean. Themistokles, his junior by a whole generation, if he was the visionary promoter of a naval policy, would have been his ally – if not just a follower in his footsteps. Evidence for rivalry in 492/89 between these two men has yet to be produced[73].

But is there not evidence to illuminate the political scene in the 490s to be gleaned from sources dealing with the second decade, which could be applied retroactively, as it were? According to the *Ath. pol.*, it is true, the first three victims of ostracism were removed as οἱ τῶν τυράννων φίλοι[74]. Are we able to identify these "tyrants"? Now, Hippias, apart from being an *ex*-tyrant, was last seen coughing out his remaining tooth on the shore near Marathon[75]; his soul will have left his (imaginary) ἕρκος ὀδόντων soon after. His brother Hipparchos had been dead for a quarter of a century. Thessalos remains an unknown quantity. Of the grandsons of Peisistratos only Peisistratos, son of Hippias, is known to us; he would, if still alive, have been in his sixties[76]. Neither the younger Peisistratos nor any other of the Peisistratids (who, according to Hdt., accompanied Xerxes)[77], however, could be called "tyrants" with any degree of

[73] *Pace* Plut. *Them.* 4,5 = Stesimbrotos *FGrHist* 107 F 3. Podlecki, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 58 (cf. 203) would substitute Aristeides, not improbably. Stesimbrotos' statement was defended recently by Schachermeyr, "Stesimbrotos und seine Schrift über die Staatsmänner", *SAWW* 247, 1965, 5. Abh., 13 = *Forschungen und Betrachtungen*, 161. No evidence can be obtained from *Ath. pol.* 28,2, which does not square with *Ath. pol.* 41,2, nor with its own words; at any rate, Miltiades is coupled with Xanthippos and Themistokles with Aristeides in 28,2 (the latter appearing with Ephialtes [who faces Kimon the son of Miltiades in 28,2] at 41,2), as already before (23,3).

[74] *Ath. pol.* 22,4 and 6. (On the ostracisms of the 480s see below 221f.). The phraseology is clearly anachronistic. The term would be applicable under fourth-century conditions, to denounce men who oppose democratic government and who naturally favour, and are being favoured by, tyrants in other Greek cities. We know of no Greek tyrannies of this age outside Greater Greece or (possibly) Greek cities under Persian rule (cf., however, Hdt. 6,43,3 [where *demokratia* means only freedom from a violent despot, but not "democracy"; see Kinzl, *op. cit.* (n. 11)]). Isagoras is also styled "friend of the tyrants", *Ath. pol.* 20,1, presumably on the basis of Hdt. 5,74,1 (Kleomenes' last attempt at intervening in Athenian affairs, Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι). Gomme has seen nearly all of this more than thirty years ago (*More Essays*, 27f.).

[75] Hdt. 6,107,3.

[76] See Davis, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 446ff.; cf. *Historia* 22, 1973, 504–507.

[77] Hdt. 7,6; 8,52. I am not quite certain what Hdt. meant to say (if anything). In 480, only longeval sons of the *makrobios* Hippias, or some great-grandsons of the Old Tyrant who had never seen Athens in their lives, could have been in the camp of Xerxes. The point is perhaps irrelevant – were it not for its demonstrating our relative ignorance and the strict limitations on the results of prosopographical attempts.

accuracy. As a matter of fact, the *Ath. pol.* does not refer to particular "tyrants" – let alone to a treacherous pro-Peisistratid "party" in Athens in the 490s. Was there perhaps nevertheless a "party" advocating tyranny? This is of course not impossible *a priori*. It would *a priori*, however, cancel out the alleged significance of the Peisistratid connexion of Hipparchos, son of Charmos, *archon eponymos* in 496/95[78]. The Persians, we remember, were firmly committed to bringing back to power the Peisistratid Hippias. There is no indication, furthermore, that they expected anything short of total subjection[79]. An Athenian pro-tyrannical "party" would, in any event, have depended on outside forces for support[80] – it is not easy to see from where; the Spartans had burnt their fingers badly, and after the congress in Sparta they would have had to go it alone, against the inclinations of their allies[81]. In short, any theory that posits a tyrannist "party" operating at Athens in the 490s on the strength of the archonship of Hipparchos, son of Charmos, in 496/95 and his ostracism in 487, in conjunction with an interpreting remark in the *Ath. pol.*, is open to serious logical challenge.

Finally, the events leading up to the battle of Marathon, and even the battle itself, fail to provide conclusive evidence as to the existence (let alone the strength) of a pro-tyrannical "party" of "traitors". There is not the slightest indication (however circumstantial) that at any point it was a topic of discussion whether or not the Persians should be resisted. It is to no one's surprise, however, that there was considerable debate on strategy. The arguments put into Miltiades' mouth by Herodotos[82] in the former's bid to obtain the support of Kallimachos significantly play upon the theme of a change of mind of – not a certain "party" but *the Athenians*[83]. Herodotos' silence is the more important as it is he who at great length discusses the strange flashing of a shield *after* the battle[84]. It furthermore

[78] Often interpreted as a move to "appease" Persia.

[79] These considerations seem compelling enough to rule out, *a priori*, the "appeasement" theory.

[80] From the first reported attempt at usurpation on (Kylon), through the entire sixth century; failure to ensure such outside support only ensured failure (e. g. Damasias, it appears) – while the opposite of course could not guarantee success (Isagoras, for instance, and Hippias and his folk after 510).

[81] Hdt. 5,90ff. (Kleomenes might by then have begun to drink his wine undiluted.)

[82] Hdt. 6,109,3–6 (reflecting his own thoughts and knowledge [or ignorance]: *RhM* 118, 1975, 200).

[83] This has the definite ring of a doublet: see Hdt. 9,11,2 (no doubt a historical fact), which seems to have been his source of inspiration for this particular twist in Miltiades' argument (which seems rather an insult to the intelligence of the *polemarchos*).

[84] Hdt. 6,115; 121–124.

appears that no attempt was made to pin the incident on Hipparchos, as we should have expected, had he been well up in the hierarchy of the tyrannist "party". The verdict in this case – as in the other instances which we investigated for evidence corroborating the all too familiar (and none too obvious) rigmarole of "parties" – reads: *non liquet*.

It appears probable, then, that the somewhat "mysterious" decade of the 490s was, on the whole, as quiet and "normal" as can be expected in Athenian politics; much more "normal", in fact, than the decades preceding and subsequent to the 490s, and perhaps any period in the fifth century. I find this answer entirely consistent with both the echo in the sources and internal developments up to 501/500. The aristocratically dominated State, efficiently restructured, devoted to the principle of due process of law and equal law for all, maintained by the politics of majority consensus, and under no serious threat from without, plainly worked well. The work of Kleisthenes and of his collaborators, allies and successors had proved a success – so far as success is possible in politics. *Stasis* as a means of attaining political power had been eliminated as effectively as had *tyrannis* as a form of government.

4. The 480s. – In the autumn of 490 the Athenians fought back an attack of the Persians: in terms of *World History* perhaps no more than a minor skirmish[85] – in the memory of the Athenians Marathon was one of their finest hours[86]. The present mood of the Athenians was not one of

[85] "Marathonology" has produced a vast bibliography to which more is constantly being added. (Its relative position in the context of the history of that age is sometimes lost sight of; cf., however, Schachermeyr, "Marathon und die persische Politik", *HZ* 172, 1955, 1–35 = *Forschungen und Betrachtungen*, 85–119.) Excavations such as those conducted by the late Spyridon Marinatos (see A. R. Burn, above 91f.) are necessary. But above all, the sources must be sorted out once and for all. The painting in the *Stoa poikile* is the prime and ultimate source of the literary tradition (on the painting see E. B. Harrison, "The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa", *AJA* 76, 1972, 353ff., with a collection of the *testimonia* for the painting, 370–378; cf. also T. Hölscher, Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., *Beiträge zur Archaologie* 6, 1973, 38–84; esp. 50ff.), a distorted one from the outset – to which further distortion was added according to the tastes, needs, or dislikes of each respective author (this may even include observations on the terrain in later ages, perhaps from autopsy). Here I venture to append this question: why is it that the Athenian fleet (numbering no less than seventy, see Hdt. 6,132; they cannot all have been transport vessels, cf. Hdt. 6,41,1–2) – with rare consistency among our sources (and their modern counterparts) – is at least as χωρίς as the notorious ἵπποις of the invaders?

[86] Theopompos of course found reason to fulminate against this stereotypically misrepresentative boasting of the Athenians (*FGrHist* 115 F 153; cf., on the meaning of this fragment, my suggestion *Gymnasium* 81, 1974, 314 n. 1). Cf., incidentally, Thuk. 1,73.

awed anticipation and terror. Optimism[87] prevailed over pessimism. Not many an Athenian will have possessed the vision to foresee the destruction of the temples of the guardian gods[88] who had saved them at Marathon, nor would he have commanded the power of persuasion to convince his fellow citizens of the impending doom. Evidence, both archaeological and historical, suggests this as a most viable assessment. On the Akropolis an archaic temple was pulled down to make room for a new temple of Athena; it was only half-finished by 480 and its scarred remains were subsequently built into the northern supporting wall or covered under the foundations of the Parthenon[89]. Miltiades embarked on a naval expedition into the Aegean, conceived on a larger scale than anything hitherto[90]. The false sense of security nearly seduced the Athenians into neglecting even their fleet – had it not been for the rhetorical power of the word of a Themistokles: newly gained income from a recently struck silver-vein came close to being distributed among the citizens as late as 483/82[91]. Still in the same year the Athenians delivered another example of their preoccupation with matters that were trivial in comparison with the threat of renewed war with Persia: they decided to conduct another ostracism, after an intermission of two years[92].

It is this general climate of optimism and confidence which we are able to sense in the years after Marathon, which manifests itself also in the

[87] On the concept of "Frühklassischer" or "Klassischer Optimismus" cf. Schachermeyr, *Die frühe Klassik der Griechen*, 1966, index *s. v.*; *Perikles*, 1969, esp. 24ff. and 195ff.; *Geistesgeschichte der Perikleischen Zeit*, 1971, 17 etc.; the same works also on the "Generation der Marathon-Kämpfer".

[88] In retaliation, Hdt. tells us (5,102), for the burning of the sanctuary of Kybebe at Sardis.

[89] Cf. Boersma, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 38f. I owe this particular point to Professor C. W. J. Eliot (lecture at Trent University in March 1974). See J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, 1971, 444ff.

[90] Hdt. 6,132ff. On the ancient accounts see my forthcoming paper "Miltiades' Paros-expedition in der Geschichtsschreibung", *Hermes* 104, 1976, 280–307.
Scope and aims of the expedition are contentious; I incline to think that the Athenians knew its general thrust and direction; that Paros was only the first major step and, as the gods willed it, the terminal point of the campaign and its leader's career and even his life. The founding of the Delian League does not signal the *birth* of Athenian maritime expansion (which occured much earlier), but, rather, the peak of its early development.

[91] Hdt. 7,144; Aristot. *Ath. pol.* 22,7. The latter provides the archon-year. Whatever the actual truth, the drift in the mood of the people will have been captured accurately by Hdt. For a discussion of the problems of Themistokles' "Naval Bill" see, most recently, Podlecki, *op. cit.* (n. 62), esp. 201–204.

[92] The "ostracizing out" of Aristeides in 483/82 is the only one that Hdt. (8,79,1) deems worthy of attention; for the date see *Ath. pol.* 22,8. (He was voted "out" only to be recalled in the nick of time.) In 487/86 the *agon* of the *komodopoioi* was added to the programme of the festival of the Great Dionysia (*Suda* X318).

archonship reform and the incipient application of the law on ostracism. This revived interest in constitutional matters seems to follow a pattern established by three closely parallel occasions since the termination of tyranny: (1) after the departure of the Peisistratids – the so-called *Diapsephismos* and the decree outlawing torture; (2) following the repelling of Isagoras and his royal Spartan ally – the reform act by which the *demoi*-administration, *trittyes* and *phylai* were created; (3) subsequent to the Athenian victory in the war on three fronts – the Bouleutic Oath and the *strategia*-reform. In each instance, however, reform was of course not enacted for its own sake; nor was it implemented in order to serve as an individual move in a series of steps towards accomplishing some broadly conceived vision of the form of government of the future: the causes in each case stemmed from the more particular problems of the more immediate past and the present: the intention was to "do something about it".

The *Ath. pol.* (22,5) alone records and dates the archonship-reform. Let me first restate views previously expressed by other scholars regarding several attendant points of detail: (1) I accept the conjecture that the transferring of the presidency of the *Ekklesia* from the *archon eponymos* to the *prytaneis*[93] and the transferring of certain responsibilities of the *archon polemarchos* from that *archon* to the *strategoi*[94] both belong to the same context of the archonship-reform, since in this way the archonship was rendered more homogeneous; (2) I accept the suggestion that the secretary to the *thesmothetai* by the same act became a position to be filled by the same procedure as the nine *archontes* from among the same body of candidates[95], so that each of the ten *phylai* had one man from their fellow tribesmen chosen by the lot under the new procedure.

Let me now briefly state my own view concerning two additional attendant points of detail: (3) I believe that it was Telesinos who (together with his colleagues and the secretary) was the first *archon eponymos* to be selected under the emended two-stage procedure (of *prokrisis* and sortition), to serve his term in 487/86[96]; (4) since I accept the reservations of many

[93] Cf., e. g., Hignett, *Hist. Ath. Const.*, 151; 175 (Rhodes, *op. cit.* [n. 36], 21 n. 4, however, does "not see why this practice should not have lasted until the reforms of Ephialtes").

[94] Cf. Hignett, *op. cit.*, 175; cf. also Hammond, *CQ* 19, 1969, 118f. = *Studies in Greek History*, 1973, 357. See esp. Fornara, *op. cit.* (n. 36), 11f.

[95] Cf. Hignett, *op. cit.*, 173f.; Ehrenberg, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 146.

[96] Cf. E. Meyer, *Griech. Gesch.*[1] 3, § 198 (notes); see *Ath. pol.* 25,2 (the legislation must antedate the archonship given for the take-over by the Five-Hundred from the Areios-

scholars as to the credibility – or even feasibility – of the figure of *five hundred* preselected candidates for the choice by the lot to become archon[97], I propose the following emended reading of the text of *Ath. pol.* 22,5: εὐθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Τελεσίνου ἄρχοντος, ἐκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν [δήμων] (δή·μων **B**: δημοτ(ων) **L**: δαμων sec. Diels in **B**) πεντακοσίων, τότε (τοῖς **L**) μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον. οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἱρετοί[98].

On the subject of *sortition* about all that can be said was actually said by Martin: "Das Los hat jedoch zunächst nichts mit Demokratie, sondern nur etwas mit Gleichheit zu tun"[99]. He also very aptly points out that it was not in 487 that the archonship was thrown open to lower-rated revenue earners[100]. It is the principle of *equality among the nobles*, therefore, which adumbrates the significance in 487 of the introduction of *sortition* into the selection-process for the archonship.

This gesture of sortition, however (and moreover), was restricted to the second step. The principle of *preselection* for the first step indeed reinforces the aristocratic character of the reform: by choosing the candidates in the *Boule*, whose members were accountable to their noble *demotai* (and presumably their *demarchoi*) back in their own *demoi*, the influence of the nobles could be brought to bear much more strongly than

Pagos-Council); *Ath. pol.* 26,3 clinches the case: ἐπὶ Λυσικράτους ἄρχοντος οἱ τριάκοντα δικασταὶ κατέστησαν (intransitive, active!) πάλιν οἱ καλούμενοι κατὰ δήμους. (Flatly opposed: Hignett, *op. cit.*, 176.)
If the name of the *archon eponymos* could attach itself to this innovation, it was because *he* was the first to be affected by it: just as we get, further down (26,2), the name of the first *zeugites* elected to the archonship – rather than the name of the *archon eponymos* during whose term the law that made possible the election to the archonship of a *zeugites;* cf. below n. 114.

97 Most scholars think that one hundred would be a more reasonable figure (which seems oddly to hark back to the [now discarded, cf. n. 28] one hundred *demoi* of Kleisthenes).

98 Although I adhere to the creed of reasonable textual conservatism which I have been taught by Professor Lesky, I do think that the present case meets the criteria of the responsible textual critic. The text as transmitted does not produce satisfactory meaning within its own context, nor in the interpretation of the historian. There is no obvious palaeographical explanation for confusing one hundred and five hundred (on the former figure cf. n. 97). Above all, however, we cite the different readings of the London Papyrus (L) and the fragment II b of the Berlin Papyrus (B). The intrusion into the text of an interlineal gloss of some puzzled reader surely would not be cause for surprise: the *Ath. pol.* does not mention preselection before sortition in its descriptive sections (ch. 55); it may have disappeared (Hignett, *op. cit.* [n. 93], 227). "Five Hundred" for "Council of Five Hundred" (as opposed to the Areios-Pagos-Council) recurs in 25,5. See, above all, 26,2 *fin.* with *app. crit.* See also Schwyzer, 2,26 n. 2 (article not repeated).

99 Martin, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 26f.

100 Martin, *loc. cit.* See *Ath. pol.* 26,2.

under the old arrangement. The use of the bean surely did not signify "people power" – not in 487, in any event.

Until 487 the *archontes* were not selected in accordance with the essential elements of the Kleisthenic administration of Attica. This incongruity now disappears. The *demoi* are introduced as the primary partner in the selection of the *archontes* – with the *Boule* acting as their intermediary. We remember how in all reform since the creation of the *demoi*-administration the *demoi*-structure was the basis and the starting point. By allowing the *demoi* to participate in a significant manner by having candidates chosen who are as representative of all villages of Attica as are the members of the *Boule*, the institution of the archonship was rendered infinitely more representational of Attica in all its diversity than it ever was before 487. This particular point was further strengthened by sortition κατὰ φυλάς: from now on all *phylai* are represented equally by providing not only *one* general *each*, but also *one archon each*[101].

What were the effects of the archonship reform on other (already existing) bodies of government? The transfer of the presidency of the People's Assembly to the *Boule* of Five-Hundred; the assigning of the task of preselecting "suitable" candidates for their "bean-ing" to become *archontes*[102]; these measures were presumably not intended as major changes at that time: they *do* herald the direction which developments will eventually take, namely, the ever growing *potential* status of the *Boule* of Five-Hundred in the political field, to the point at which it is indeed capable of performing in that *coup d'état* which eliminated the Areios-Pagos-Council from politics. At this point (487), however, a clear intent is anything but obvious.

Let us now examine whether the archonship reform – apart from arming the *Boule* of Five-Hundred with political potential of eventually far-reaching consequences – also infringed on, upheld, or otherwise affected existing institutions. In 490 the *archon polemarchos* still acted as a

[101] The secretary must therefore have been included – it was a neat way of avoiding the figure *ten*, which might have conveyed the mistaken notion of a state of emergency (as had occurred in 580/79 [cf. Cadoux, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 102f.]; and cf. *Ath. pol.* 38,1 – election of ten *autokratores* after the collapse of the Thirty). Detailed questions of procedure may be ignored, since the general policy seems so clear (e. g. the perennial question of "double representation" among the generals): there must have been exceptions to the rule (which otherwise could not be called a "rule"). (Cf. n. 50.)

[102] This would parallel the conjectured preselection by the *Boule* of the candidates for the generalship. I should regard this as strong mutually corroborating inferential arguing. Regarding the *strategoi* see above 208 with n. 51.

hegemon of the Athenian hoplite phalanx; he was the commander of its right wing; his vote could decide the debate among the plenary assembly of the ten generals[103]. By 479 he has dropped out of sight, leaving behind a *strategia* stripped of its leader: ten generals – ten individuals[104]. In 490 the People's Assembly had dispatched its generals to Marathon to fight the enemy – surely not to sit around and debate if they should fight[105]. Had the *archon polemarchos* (Kallimachos) elected to cast his vote against the counsel to fight (attributed to Miltiades)[106], there would not have been a "Battle of Marathon" . . .: it plainly runs counter to the spirit of the Kleisthenic State that one man alone should be in a position to decide on a matter of the gravest national importance; that the State should be put at the mercy of the wits of a single individual. Come 480, however, little is heard of the *strategoi*[107]. They issued, it is true, a proclamation so profound as to advise that everyone look out for himself: they were (as Aristotle nicely comments)[108] at their wit's end. Immediately after Marathon in 489 Miltiades[109] was sent out on a naval expedition with powers interpreted by Miltiades to include authority to return as he saw fit, without having secured any booty or accomplished anything; he was duly prosecuted and tried (by the People's Assembly sitting as a court of law)[110]. Immediately after Plataiai in 479 Xanthippos and his co-generals

[103] Hdt. 6,109ff. Concerning the battle of Marathon cf. n. 82–87; Hammond, *op. cit.* (n. 94), 111ff. = 346ff. and esp. *JHS* 88, 1968, 13ff. = *Studies in Greek History*, 170ff. (expanded).

[104] See n. 94.

[105] Hdt. 6,109,1; Hdt. does not make it clear whether those opposed to giving battle favoured submission to the Persians or sitting it out behind the walls of Athens (of which "up until now no trace has been found": Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, 1971, 158).

[106] Hdt. 6,109ff. I cannot fight off the suspicion that the role of Miltiades in these events is unduly magnified. The historical fact which made this possible is provided by the indubitable (and presumably accidental) "*imperium maius*" of Miltiades on the day of the battle as a result of that peculiar procedure of rotating the supreme command. The other two factors which could have given rise to this tradition are the arguments of the defence at his last trial (Hdt. 6,136,2) and the fresco in the painted stoa (erected by the father-in-law of his son) (on the painting, cf. n. 85):

[107] Hdt. makes mention of Athenian *strategoi* nineteen times (Powell, *Lex. Hdt.*², 338 col. 1): Melanthios (5,97,3; see above with n. 53); the generals at Marathon (6,103–114; nine instances); the generals at Plataiai (9,44 and 46 – their only function is to receive and to transmit to Pausanias the message of Alexandros of Makedonia; four times); the generalship of Xanthippos son of Ariphron in 479 during the Sestos campaign after Mykale (7,33; 9,114–120; five).

[108] *Ath. pol.* 23,1.

[109] Not one of Berve's "fürstliche Herren der Perserzeit", but no doubt a *strategos*.

[110] Hdt. 6,132–136. Cf. *Hermes* 104, 1976, 285ff.

stuck to the order of the Assembly, scrupulously and to the letter. They flatly refused – in spite of their soldiers' (their fellow citizens) urgent representations – to raise the siege of Sestos and sail home, unless they were recalled by the Assembly[111].

Does it require a vivid imagination to discern a pattern in all this? To me the conclusion suggests itself that the *strategia*, by its problematical performance during the preceding thirteen years, had exposed itself as deficient. The generals had to become more directly accountable for their actions under the principle of due process of law and more strictly subjected to the orders of the People. Transgressions would be tried in the Areios-Pagos-Council or by the People's Assembly[112].

The Areios-Pagos-Council, finally, was also affected by the archonship reform of 487. Since the archons continued to join the ranks of that Council, all that was stated about the archonship becomes true of the Areios-Pagos-Council. This body too only now became aligned with the Kleisthenic system of administration. It had obtained a new lease on life. It would become truly representative of the Attic nobility: a mere decade later (when the so-called Kimonian era only begins) as much as a third of the entire membership of the Areios-Pagos-Council may already have gone through the pre-selection procedure in that other Council, namely, the Kleisthenic *Boule* of Five-Hundred which already represented all the *demoi* of Attica. In 462 only very few men on the Areios-Pagos-Council can have been left from those who had entered it before 486. Aristotle may after all be right in suggesting that there was a period during which the Areios-Pagos-Council regained its strength and was able to assert its ascendancy by "running the City"[113] – it was an Indian summer which

[111] Hdt. 9,114ff.; esp. 117 (the term used is "the *Koinon*").

[112] This is not of course to say that it was the generals whose actions and attitudes had prompted the archonship reform: the diminishing of the stature of the *strategoi*, rather, was a welcome by-product of the reform of 487.

[113] *Ath. pol.* 23,1 (he directly links it to the inaction of the generals during the year of Salamis, cf. above with n. 108). The credibility of the statement admittedly is not enhanced by the fact that Aristotle fits it into his neat scheme of *metabolai* (*Ath. pol.* 41); nor has he made up his mind as to whether this period of Areopagite resurgence occurred *during* (*pol.* 1304a 20–24) or *after* (*Ath. pol.* 23,1f.; 25,1; 41,2) the Persian Wars (which term may of course include the 470s and perhaps even the 460s). But Aristotle's version is a *lectio difficilior* and may therefore derive from factual knowledge supported by evidence. If it is an inference on the part of Aristotle, this would go to his credit as a historian. I should not, however, dare propounding my theories on the "evidence" of Aristotle. (A recent paper by R. B. Wallace, "Ephialtes and the Areopagos", *GRBS* 15, 1974, 259–269, appears to be trying to vindicate Aristotle by taking his statements as the starting point: I have chosen the opposite approach.)

could not last very long; and it may be historic irony that the councillors who gathered on the Areios Pagos had to be pre-selected by the councillors of the People. At any rate, Aischylos' *Eumenides* would carry a much stronger message against the background of a strong Areios-Pagos-Council that had only four years earlier fallen victim to a "Staatsstreich".

I accordingly judge the destruction of the Areios-Pagos-Council not to be a consequence or extension of the archonship reform – dying a slow death over a period of a quarter of a century with Ephialtes administering only a long overdue *coup de grâce*. The Areios-Pagos-Council did not die a natural death. It was assassinated.

The reduction of the archonship to insignificance does not occur in 487 – quite the contrary: it is in consequence of the destruction of the Areios-Pagos-Council of 462 that in 457 the first *zeugites* enters office as *archon eponymos*. The archonship too now lost its aristocratic prestige[114].

The archonship reform of 487 was a major reform, if somewhat different in meaning and intent from its traditional presentation. It partly represents a further extension of the Kleisthenic reforms, aligning archonship and Areios-Pagos-Council with the Kleisthenic *demoi*-administration and thereby *re*-valuing both the archonship and (in particular) the Areios-Pagos-Council, while *de*-valuing the *strategia*. It is not possible to detect any intent to democratize, nor any concept of democracy, in this reform.

If the new law could be applied to select the archons for 487/86 by the two-stage procedure it provided for, it must have been passed before the end of the archon-year 488/87. The final stages of the debate on the archonship reform coincided with the vote in the early spring of 487 to conduct an ostracism for the first time[115]. I do not believe that as yet we know enough about the meaning of the ostracisms of the 480s[116] – Plutarch may indeed provide the proper answer: he tells of an illiterate peasant who could not stand Aristeides being called "the Just"[117] – an utterly unpolitical "offense". This is not the place to plunge into yet another discourse on ostracism[118]: let me just state that in my judgement the familiar rigmarole of "parties" of all shades, ranging from pro-Persian and pro-Peisistratid to anti-

[114] *Ath. pol.* 26,2.

[115] The chronological proximity was observed by Hignett, *op. cit.* (n. 93), 176; his date for the archonship reform, however, is different from ours (see n. 96).

[116] Cf., e. g., Ehrenberg, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 144; 147f.

[117] Plut. *Aristeid.* 7,7.

[118] Cf. above n. 55.

Persian, anti-Peisistratid, anti-tyrannical, and even radical-democratic, with the "Alkmeonids" conveniently mixed in here and there, surely has yet to find corroborating evidence – this neither the ostracisms[119] nor the *ostraka*[120] are apt to produce. Until such evidence surfaces we had better relegate all this to the ghost-house of anachronistic historiography.

5. The Emergence of Athenian Democracy. – We must not, I suggest in conclusion, attempt to schematize or systematize Athenian politics to match and satisfy our own political idiosyncrasies. We are dealing with a disorderly, chaotic world. We have no right to restore it to its "true", "original" state of neat order and simplicity by imposing on it patterns which are alien to it. The Ancient World is a foreign one. It is a strange world. Athens is no exception.

The democracy which we idolize was unknown. The peculiar form of government and administration which we describe as Athenian Democracy was neither born, nor improved, between 510 and 480 B. C. Yet this quarter of a century is a period of great significance. It is an era of transition from archaic tyranny to classical democracy. In the Kleisthenic State the aristocratic principles of equality and due process of law became

[119] See above with n. 74–81.

[120] In the absence of a comprehensive and exhaustive publication and study by the excavator we are grateful to Professor Thomsen (see n. 55) for having gone through the Kerameikos finds.
My own strong doubts as to the validity of the prevailing current interpretation of the *ostraka* (according to which they *confirm* what has always been suspected: see the text above) appear to be shared at least in part by Professor Mattingly (in a letter [March 5th, 1974]) and Dr D. M. Lewis (see his paper "The Kerameikos Ostraka", *ZPE* 14, 1974, 1–4). (A) The solitary sherd with a little poem against Xanthippos (Raubitschek, *AJA* 51, 1947, 257–262; Meiggs and Lewis, no. 21, p. 42), in which he is called a terrible wrongdoer, reveals nothing, since there are myriads of ways in which one can do terrible wrong (apart from certain textual problems). (B) Kallixenos son of Aristonymos is repeatedly styled a "Mede"; he even gets a little portrait depicting a bearded face topped with some unusual sort of head-gear. The allusion has the distinct ring of a joke and a nickname, as we know it from Old Comedy (cf. Mattingly and Lewis, *loc. cit.*). (C) Kallias Kratiou frequently is complimented as a προδότης. Now, "traitor" is about the first, and the most general, abusive term a Greek would utter in political cursing; even if Kallias did indeed betray somebody or something, we cannot tell what it was all about (did he perhaps sell the archonship reform to the townsfolk with untrue promises, concealing from them that it actually meant more power for the village nobles?).
I have not yet come across an explanation as to why it is only Kallixenos who is a "Mede"; why it is only Kallias who is a "traitor"; if both had been suspected of being in the business of betraying Athens to the King – *non sequitur*. In addition, both Professor Mattingly and now also Dr Lewis *(loc. cit.)* argue that Kallias Kratiou has to be eliminated from the 480s.

the prime commitments of government. By creating the *demoi*-structure a broadly based system of administration was accomplished. It is a period, therefore, not only of transition, but one in which the foundations were laid.

It is a different generation, however, to which we must turn to witness the actual birth and development of democracy at Athens – in an enlightened world which owes its radiance to the meteoric rise of intellectual individualism; in which the scientific and artistic disciplines break loose from the fetters of the Archaic Age. It is due to this rapid acceleration of the evolution of the Greek mind (tolling the bell for the aristocratic age) that the Athenian Example becomes possible. The intellectual stagnation into which the Classical World was soon to relapse might never have been broken – had it not been stirred by enlightenment. Athens, as its focal point, owes a great debt to the entire Greek world.

Where did democracy rise? *When* did democracy rise? At Athens, we should answer – as it emerged as the catalyst of Greek intellectualism (and imperialism). In the political arena the names that instantly spring to mind are Ephialtes . . ., Perikles . . . – but in the same instant we should be equally reminded that in the wider field of *Geistesgeschichte* politicians occupy but a small corner: reflecting change more often than initiating it[121].

[121] Cf. Schachermeyr, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 1969, esp. his "Anhang", 391–457; *Die frühe Klassik der Griechen*, 1966, esp. 3ff.; 34ff.; 59ff.; 181ff.; 272ff.; 287ff.; *Geistesgeschichte der Perikleischen Zeit*, 1971.

Albin Lesky

Tragödien bei Herodot?

Einer der interessantesten Funde zur griechischen Tragödie sind die 16 einigermaßen gut lesbaren Verse aus einem Gyges-Drama, die uns *P. Oxy.* Nr. 2382 gebracht hat; kaum ein anderes Fragment hat eine so lebhafte Debatte hervorgerufen wie dieses. Die mächtig angewachsene Literatur ist nun mit großer Sorgfalt von N. Holzberg in der letzten diesen Versen gewidmeten Publikation verzeichnet[1]. Zwei Fronten scheiden sich in der Frage des zeitlichen Ansatzes. Gleich der erste Herausgeber E. Lobel dachte an die erste Hälfte des 5. Jh. und fand entschiedene Nachfolge bei D. L. Page; damit wäre für die Gygesnovelle bei Herodot 1,8 Abhängigkeit von einem Drama gegeben. Die Arbeiten von K. Latte und dem Schreiber dieser Zeilen traten jedoch für einen Spätansatz nach Herodot ein. Sie haben beträchtliche Nachfolge gefunden, so daß sich eine Zeit lang die Waagschale zugunsten der späteren Datierung zu neigen schien. Neuerdings hat jedoch wieder B. Snell den früheren Ansatz vertreten[2]. Holzberg hat nun die ganze, im Laufe der Zeit recht diffizil gewordene Argumentation einer eingehenden Nachprüfung unterzogen, bei der ihm keiner der von den beiden Fronten vorgebrachten Gründe für einen zeitlichen Ansatz stichhältig zu sein schien. Einmal mehr erfährt man es, daß unsere Arbeit nicht auf mathematisch beweisbare Erkenntnisse, sondern weitgehend auf das *Eikós* ausgerichtet ist. Immerhin läßt Holzberg noch eine Möglichkeit – er spricht allerdings von einem geringfügigen Hoffnungsschimmer – offen, um das resignierte *non liquet* zu vermeiden: „Wenn man nämlich die Argumentation in Zukunft schwerpunktmäßig auf ein Gebiet verlagern würde, das im Zusammenhang mit unserem Problem bisher in erstaunlicher, unbegreiflicher Weise vernachlässigt, teilweise fast ignoriert wurde: die herodoteische Quellenfrage. So unglaublich es klingt, aber es ist Tatsache, daß bis auf eine Ausnahme

[1] *ZAnt* 23, 1973, 273.
[2] *ZPE* 12, 1973, 197.

(Raubitschek 1955) bisher noch niemand mit dem hierbei notwendigen Nachdruck die grundsätzliche Frage gestellt hat, ob es überhaupt möglich ist, daß Herodot eine Novelle, deren Stellung am Anfang des Werkes ihr eine besondere Bedeutung verleiht (die durch die Verknüpfung mit dem Kroisos-Logos sogar bis zur Sinndeutung reicht) teilweise nahezu wörtlich aus einer Tragödie übernommen hat, die möglicherweise nur von mittelmäßigem Wert war"[3]? Wir stimmen grundsätzlich zu und möchten dieser Fragestellung entscheidende Bedeutung zumessen. Holzberg verlangt eine Untersuchung, „welche Stellen im gesamten Geschichtswerk überhaupt dramatischen Aufbau zeigen, und welche Stellen davon für eine direkte Abhängigkeit von einem dramatischen Werk grundsätzlich in Frage kämen". Hier müssen wir differenzieren: ‚dramatisch' ist im Werk des Herodot recht vieles, ohne daß aus Steigerungen, Retardationen oder aus bewegter Dialogführung an ein Drama als Vorlage zu denken wäre. Gewiß ist auch vieles im Geschichtswerk ‚tragisch' zu nennen, wenn man den Begriff nicht zu eng umgrenzt. Man braucht neben anderem nur an das Schicksal des Psammenit zu denken. Anders stehen die Dinge dort, wo eine Abfolge von Szenen den Bauformen der Tragödie zu entsprechen scheint. Wenn Holzberg[4] schreibt: „Hier wäre neben Gyges z. B. die Atysnovelle 1,34ff. zu nennen", so ist es keineswegs so, daß diese Novelle ein Beispiel unter anderen wäre, sondern es handelt sich neben der Gygesnovelle um den einzigen Fall, in dem die Lineamente einer Szenenführung erkennbar erscheinen, wie wir sie aus der Tragödie kennen[5]. Dieser Fall ist allerdings wichtig und erfordert eine eingehendere Betrachtung.

Die Novelle beginnt mit einem Traum des Kroisos, der ihm verkündet, daß sein Sohn Atys durch eine eiserne Lanzenspitze umkommen werde. Das ist eine um so härtere Drohung, als der zweite Sohn des Kroisos als stumm für eine Nachfolge nicht in Betracht kommt. Der König sucht dieser Drohung zu entkommen, indem er Atys eine Frau

[3] Allerdings muß ich gegen die Schilderung der Situation bei Holzberg Protest einlegen. Wenn ich *Hermes* 81, 1953, 2 = *Ges. Schr.*, 1967, 205, schrieb: "Nun sind wir den Herodot wieder los, der ein Drama mit ängstlicher Genauigkeit ausgeschrieben hätte", ist wohl meine Stellung zu der Möglichkeit, Herodot von einer Tragödie abhängen zu lassen, deutlich genug ausgesprochen.

[4] *Op. cit.* (siehe n. 1), 285 n. 12.

[5] Mit großer Bestimmtheit hat Qu. Cataudella die Atysnovelle auf eine Tragödie zurückgeführt: *Cultura e Scuola* 17, 1966, 33 = *Saggi sulla Tragedia Greca*, 1969, 410. Vorsichtig tritt nun Snell (*op. cit.* [siehe n. 2], 205 n. 19) für die Moglichkeit einer derartigen Abhängigkeit ein.

gibt, ihn nicht mehr ins Feld ziehen läßt und sorgfältig Waffen aller Art in eine Kammer wegräumt, um so zu verhindern, daß eine auf seinen Sohn falle. Während er noch mit den Vorbereitungen zu dessen Hochzeit beschäftigt ist, kommt ein Mann an seinen Hof (die zeitliche Raffung ist deutlich), der wegen *phónos akoúsios* fliehen mußte und von ihm die rituelle Entsühnung erbittet. Es ist dies Adrestos, der die Adrasteia in seinem Namen trägt, ein Sohn des Gordias und Enkel des Midas, der ohne Absicht seinen Bruder getötet hat. Kroisos vollzieht erst die Entsühnung nach dem Brauch und erkundigt sich dann erst nach der Herkunft des Flüchtigen und dem Anlaß seines Kommens. Frage und Antwort sowie die Aufnahme des Adrestos im Hause des Kroisos sind in Dialogform gegeben, in jener Form also, die bei Herodot ständig in den Vordergrund drängt. An eine dramatische Vorlage zu denken haben wir bislang keinen Anlaß. Natürlich konnte dieser Teil der Erzählung allenfalls in einer Tragödie in einem Prolog berichtet oder in einer Szene zwischen Kroisos und Adrestos im Laufe des Stückes nachgeholt werden.

An die Struktur der Tragödienszenen erinnert dann das Folgende. Zu jener Zeit haben die Myser schwer unter einem mächtigen Eber zu leiden, der ihre Kulturen verwüstet. Endlich entschließen sie sich zu einer Gesandtschaft an Kroisos. Adrestos ist bereits eine Zeit lang am Hofe des Königs. Wenn wir an der Fiktion einer Tragödie festhalten, könnte man sich die Gesandten der Myser als den Chor des supponierten Dramas vorstellen. Das folgende Gespräch hätte dann Kroisos und den Chorführer zu Partnern gehabt. Die Myser erbitten Hilfe bei der Jagd auf den Eber, die ihnen der Sohn des Kroisos mit auserlesener junger Mannschaft leisten soll. Kroisos verspricht Hilfe, verweigert jedoch die Teilnahme des Atys an der Jagd. Dabei ist es ein feiner Zug, daß er nichts von dem unheilkündenden Traum sagt, sondern sich mit dem Hinweis auf die kürzlich geschlossene Ehe begnügt, obwohl er selbst an sein persönliches Traumerlebnis denkt. Auch Technisches ist neben seiner Zurückhaltung vor den Mysern dabei im Spiele: Die Argumentation mit dem Traum ist einer späteren, gewichtigeren Szene vorbehalten. Ein feiner Zug ist es auch, daß er in seiner Rede die Atys betreffende Weigerung, die ihm vor allem anderen am Herzen liegt, an die Spitze stellt. Die Myser geben sich zufrieden, aber Atys hat ihr Anliegen gehört und kommt nun hinzu, wobei *epesérchetai* an den Terminus *Epeisodion* des Dramas erinnert. Was nun folgt, ist ein richtiger Agon zwischen Vater und Sohn, vergleichbar dem zwischen Kreon und Haimon, wenn auch mit anderem Ausgang. Atys protestiert dagegen, daß er nun von allen Unternehmungen ausgeschlossen

sein und den Bürgern und seinem Weib als Feigling gelten solle. Da müsse der Vater schon Gründe geltend machen. Hier erst rückt Kroisos mit dem drohenden Traumgesicht heraus, wobei wir an so manches Beispiel der Tragödie denken können, wo Voraussetzungen des Spieles, die vor dessen Beginn liegen, erst in dessen Verlauf nachgetragen werden. Gerade Sophokles hat Vergleichbares, um nur an die Instruktionen für Neoptolemos am Beginn des Philoktet zu erinnern. Atys erwidert mit einer im Grunde sehr törichten Argumentation, ein Eber hätte doch keine Lanzenspitzen sondern Hauer, als ob es Lanzen bei einer derartigen Jagd nicht in genügender Menge gäbe. Aber Kroisos billigt seine Rede und ist bereit, ihn auf die Jagd zu senden; doch trifft er noch eine Maßregel der Vorsicht und ruft Adrestos, dem er seinen Sohn unter Berufung auf die dem Fremdling erwiesenen Wohltaten mit der merkwürdigen Begründung anvertraut, unterwegs könne Atys durch Räuber Schaden leiden. Dabei zieht dieser doch mit einer Schar erlesener junger Männer aus! Auch solle Adrestos um seiner selbst willen etwas Besonderes leisten. In diesem Gespräch wird Adrestos, der sich zum Schutze des Königssohnes natürlich bereit erklärt, mit recht umständlicher Motivation an seine Stelle in der Geschichte gebracht.

Die Jäger ziehen aus, umstellen den Eber und werfen ihre Lanzen nach ihm. Adrestos verfehlt das Untier, trifft aber Atys und tötet ihn. Das ist in einem jener Sätze gesagt, in denen sich der sonst meist schlicht erzählende Herodot als Stilist hohen Ranges bewährt. Dem unschuldig-schuldigen Täter, dem Subjekt des Satzes, ist durch eine Reihe inhaltlich schwerer Zusätze das ganze Gewicht seines Verhängnisses gegeben.

Wie wir es in einer Tragödie voraussetzen würden, meldet ein Bote das Geschehene dem Kroisos. Dieser bricht in schwere Anklagen gegen den Mann aus, der seinen Sohn behüten sollte, und ruft Zeus als Schutzherrn der Entsühnung, des Herdes und der Freundschaft an. In einer Tragödie könnte das eine Pathosrede oder ein Kommos mit dem Chore sein. Auf den Boten folgen Lyder, die den Leichnam bringen. Von einer Totenklage wird nichts gesagt, doch ist eine solche ohne weiteres vorauszusetzen. Für eine supponierte Tragödie würde eine solche den zu erwartenden Abschluß bilden.

Wir waren bisher redlich bemüht, alle jene Züge herauszuarbeiten, die dem szenischen Aufbau einer Tragödie entsprechen. Das Vorhandensein solcher Züge unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Die breit erzählte Vorgeschichte vor dem verhängnisvollen Jagdabenteuer müßte in einem Drama in dessen Verlauf nachgeholt worden sein. Daß das für den Traum in dem Agon

zwischen Vater und Sohn möglich war, haben wir gesehen. Für die Entsühnung des Adrestos wäre das immerhin, wenn auch nicht ganz so glatt, in dem Gespräch zwischen diesem und Kroisos denkbar, wenn man nicht einen Prolog à la Euripides annehmen wollte. So weit steht der Annahme einer dramatischen Vorlage vom Technischen her kaum etwas im Wege, doch ist zu überlegen, daß die Tragödie, nach der Herodot geschrieben haben soll, keineswegs mit dem Threnos an der Bahre des Atys ihren organischen Abschluß gefunden hätte, sondern nun erst als Tragödie des Adrestos weitergegangen wäre. Dieser ist mit dem Leichnam des Atys gekommen, streckt seine Hände aus und überliefert sich selbst der Rache des Kroisos, da ihm das Leben nicht mehr lebenswert sei. Kroisos aber nimmt es als ausreichende Sühne hin, daß Adrestos sich selbst als des Todes würdig erklärte. Auch sei er ja nur das willenlose Werkzeug in der Hand eines Gottes gewesen, der das kommende Unheil schon lange vorher verkündet hatte. So wird der Traum zum Spruch eines Gottes erhoben. Das Ganze könnte die Szene eines Dramas gewesen sein, wenn man sich unter Berufung auf die (scheinbare) Zweiteiligkeit der älteren sophokleischen Tragödien damit abfinden wollte, daß auf die abgeschlossene Kroisos-Atys-Handlung nun noch eine Adrestos betreffende gefolgt wäre. Unmöglich aber ist das für das Folgende. Kroisos hat seinen Sohn bestattet, die Trauernden sind vom Grabe weggegangen, da gibt sich Adrestos in seiner Verzweiflung an diesem den Tod. Wieder ist das in einem unvergeßlichen Satze gesagt, der seine Wucht durch die Beschwerung des vorangestellten Subjektes mit sinngeladenen Zusätzen erhält (45,3): Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγιγνωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἥδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ. Hier endet jede Möglichkeit, hinter Herodot eine Tragödie zu suchen. Soll man einen Szenenwechsel annehmen und den Selbstmord des Aias als Parallele heranziehen? Dort ist das Geschehen die Voraussetzung für eine bewegte Szenenfolge, hier steht der Selbstmord des Adrestos am Schluß des Ganzen, und so endet keine Tragödie. Ausflüchte sind natürlich auch hier möglich. Es könnte gerade die Kroisos und Atys angehende Erzählung einer Tragödie entnommen und die Gestalt des Adrestos von Herodot hinzugefügt worden sein. Das ist jedoch bei der engen Verbindung des Adrestos mit den entscheidenden Phasen des Geschehens völlig unglaubwürdig. Außerdem soll doch bedacht sein, daß die ganze Geschichte ihren festen Platz in einem großen, zweifellos von Herodot ge-

schaffenen, aus seinem Weltbild erwachsenen Zusammenhang hat. Vorangegangen ist die Kroisos-Solon-Erzählung. Dann heißt es am Beginn unserer Geschichte, daß nach der Abreise Solons die Nemesis Gottes Kroisos erreichte, weil er sich für den glücklichsten aller Menschen hatte ausgeben wollen. Da verkündet ihm das Traumbild, welcher Schlag ihn treffen würde. Der Tod des Atys war seine Strafe. Wieder könnte man sagen, Herodot habe eben in diesen großen Zusammenhang den Inhalt einer Tragödie eingefügt, die gerade für diesen Zweck außerordentlich passend war. Einen Fluchtweg gibt es für die Verteidiger der Tragödien-Hypothese also auch hier, und wir müssen uns auf die entscheidenden Argumente zurückziehen. Da steht uns zunächst die Überzeugung fest, daß die Annahme, Herodot, einer der glänzendsten Geschichtenerzähler der Weltliteratur, habe es sich mitten in seinem Werk auf einmal so bequem gemacht, Tragödien auszuschreiben, nicht nur jeder nachweisbaren Stütze, sondern auch jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit entbehrt. Eine zweite Überlegung erscheint uns vollends von entscheidendem Gewicht. Gewiß erinnern die Ankündigung eines Unheils und die Nutzlosigkeit des Versuches, diesem zu entgehen, an Sophokles, aber während es sich in den Trachinierinnen oder im Oidipus Tyrannos um Menschen handelt, die sich aus ihrem personalen Sein einem furchtbaren Schicksal ringend entgegenstellen und diesem unterliegen, erzählt Herodot einen Jagdunfall, den in einem weiteren Sinne tragisch zu nennen gewiß erlaubt ist. Aber weder dieser Unfall noch die vergebliche Vorsichtsmaßregel des Vaters, die Waffen wegzuräumen, ergeben eine attische Tragödie, wie wir sie in ihren Wesenszügen aus dem Erhaltenen doch zur Genüge kennen. Der tragische Gegensatz ist bei diesem Unfall nicht gegeben, wenn diesen auch ein Traum angekündigt hat.

Die unbezweifelbaren Anklänge der Szenenführung an ein tragisches Spiel sind leicht zu erklären und sind es besonders dann, wenn wir uns von ferne an Sophokles erinnert fühlen. An die Freundschaft des Geschichtsschreibers mit dem Dichter, an die Elegie, die Sophokles dem 55jährigen Herodot dichtete, an die motivischen Beziehungen zwischen beider Werk braucht nur erinnert zu werden[6]. Ohne jeden Zweifel hat Herodot am Schaffen seines Freundes unmittelbaren Anteil genommen; diese Teilnahme ist im Gedanklichen mehrfach kenntlich, daß sie sich gelegentlich auch im Stil der Erzählung äußert, ist nicht im geringsten verwunderlich.

[6] Vgl. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, ³1972, 172; 207.

Haben wir uns geweigert, Herodot in der Atys-Geschichte von einer Tragödie abhängen zu lassen, so halten wir diese Weigerung auch für die Gyges-Geschichte unverändert aufrecht. Nur, daß wir für die Verse des Gyges-Dramas nicht mehr auf hellenistischer Herkunft bestehen, sondern auch eine frühere Entstehung, jedenfalls aber eine *nach* Herodot, für möglich halten möchten.

Wir fassen es als eine Stütze unserer Auffassung auf, daß Kurt von Fritz in seiner großen Darstellung Herodots[7] weder für die Atys- noch für die Gyges-Geschichte die Möglichkeit der Abhängigkeit von einem Drama überhaupt in Rechnung zieht. Wir nehmen für beide Erzählungen in Anspruch, was er von der zweiten sagt: „Aber was immer dem Herodot als Material für seine Geschichte vorgelegen haben mag, es kann nicht der geringste Zweifel daran bestehen, daß er selbst es war, der ihr die Form gegeben hat, in welcher wir sie lesen"[8].

[7] *Die Griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, Band 1, 1967.
[8] *Op. cit.* (siehe n. 7), Band 1, Text, 213.

HAROLD B. MATTINGLY

Poets and Politicians in Fifth-Century Greece

In view of the close attention that Fritz Schachermeyr has given to Periclean Athens, I thought that my best offering on this occasion would be a study of the interplay between poetry and politics in Perikles' lifetime[1]. I have selected three poets, only one of them being an Athenian.

1. Timokreon of Ialysos, The 'Mediser'. – Timokreon was a good hater. One man whom he could never forgive was his guest-friend Themistokles, from whom he had naturally expected help in trouble. Timokreon had been expelled from his native city on a charge of medism. Themistokles refused to ensure his reinstatement. This was not, Timokreon alleges, from motives of high Hellenic principle or belief that the charge was true – but because of crude bribery by his enemies[2]. When did this episode occur? Themistokles was active among the islands immediately after Salamis, when the Greek fleet lay off Andros dealing with medisers. But, though Herodotos reports his covert and corrupt bargains with threatened communities, he mentions no island east of Paros. No one could yet have thought seriously of any political intervention in Rhodes[3]. Only after Mykale did people begin to envisage permanent liberation of Ionia. In winter 479/78 B. C. the Hellespont was secured. In summer 478 B. C. Pausanias – ably backed by Aristeides – sailed past Rhodes and Caria and boldly attacked Cyprus. Persian control was badly shaken here, though the Greek fleet retired and proceeded to the more urgent capture of

[1] See especially F. Schachermeyr, "Stesimbrotos und seine Schrift über die Staatsmänner", *SAWW* 247, 5, 1965 = *Forschungen und Betrachtungen*, 1975, 151–171; *idem*, "Religionspolitik und Religiosität bei Perikles", *SAWW* 258, 3, 1968.

[2] See the famous hate poem in Plut. *Them.* 21,3f. (fr. 1 Diehl). Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, ²1961, 351–354 (translation and commentary); A. J. Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles*, 1975, 51–53 (with Bowra's translation); R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, 1972, 414f.; D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, fr. 727.

[3] Hdt. 8,11f.; 121 (Themistokles "cheated" Karystos!); Meiggs, *op. cit.*, 414f.; 55; C. W. Fornara, *Historia* 15, 1966, 259; Podlecki, *op. cit.*, 51–53.

Byzantion. This seems the right context for an anti-Persian reaction in Ialysos, Timokreon's expulsion and Themistokles' refusal – as Greek general consolidating the Carian area – to countenance his return[4]. Some new evidence for Kos supports this view. This island appears to have cut loose from Artemisia's little empire at just this time. The Asyut Hoard from Egypt has proved that the series of Koan triple *sigloi* with Triopian Games type began very close to Xerxes' expedition, as Barron had already argued[5]. The Triopian sanctuary of Apollo lay in the territory of Knidos, but there may be a good historical reason *ca* 478 B. C. for *Kos* choosing the type – a fact which puzzled Barron and Robinson. Halikarnassos – Artemisia's capital – had been expelled from the Triopian Games and the Dorian Hexapolis for an irregularity in the contest. The new Koan type looks like a clear rebuff to Halikarnassos, a proclamation that Kos has politically rejoined the Dorian *Pentapolis*[6]. This first step towards complete liberation from Persia would have been made easier because of Pausanias' personal interest in changing the situation at Kos[7]. Kos and Rhodes may not have yet felt ready to commit themselves fully to the Greek cause nor need we assume that the Confederate Greeks would have insisted on their membership[8].

[4] Hdt. 9,98–106; 114–121; Thuk. 1,89,1f.; 94–96; "Aristotle" *Ath. pol.* 23,4f. (478/77 B. C.); Diod. 11, 44 (477/76 B. C.). Podlecki discusses scholars' divergences well, but is not happy with the 478 B. C. solution. I follow Meiggs, who seems right in referring Timokreon's Isthmian sneer to the Isthmia of this summer (*op. cit.* [n. 2], 415).

[5] For Artemisia see Hdt. 7,99 (she ruled Halikarnassos, Kos, Nisyros and Kalymna). For the coins see J. P. Barron, in: *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*, 1968, 75–89 (*ca* 480–450 B. C.); M. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Silver Coinage: The "Asyut" Hoard*, 1975, 93f., pl. 25, no. 693. Barron proved that Kos adopted the Persian standard (*op. cit.*, 82f.; 88).

[6] For the expulsion see Hdt. 1,144. The *Pentapolis* comprised the three Rhodian cities, Knidos and Kos. The Asyut Hoard closes *ca* 475 B. C.; see Price and Waggoner, *op. cit.*, 22; 38f.; 78. The Kos "*discobolus*" is very like Barron's Group A no. 6 (see his pl. 8 – the obv. die may be his A 4 retouched, the rev. die is P 5). Struck from the second (or third?) obv. die the coin must stand very near the start of the series. Barron's no. 1–3 (A 1–2) surely come after his no. 11–12 at the end of Group A – a possibility that he allows himself (*op. cit.*, 81).

[7] The daughter of a guest friend of Pausanias in Kos had been kidnapped there and made the concubine of a Persian commander; she escaped to Pausanias at Plataiai after the battle and asked to be sent to Aigina (Hdt. 9,76). He would wish to prepare the way for her safe return home.

[8] Phaselis was forced to join before the Eurymedon victory, but its adhesion was crucial by then (Plut. *Kimon* 12,3–4). The *ATL* editors (3,191; 213; 224) and Meiggs (*op. cit.* [n. 2], 55f.) assume that Kos and Rhodes had joined by summer 478 B. C. Kos's adoption of the Persian *siglos* standard just then should perhaps suggest caution. The island remained in the same economic sphere as before. The *siglos* standard is found at Mylasa (?) about

Timokreon must have been delighted at the ostracism of Themistokles. It was moreover possibly partly engineered by his new hero Aristeides – "the best man to have come from holy Athens", founder of the Delian League and "beloved of Lato[9]". But there is no need to follow Podlecki and put Timokreon's poem of hate during the residence of Themistokles at Argos. When Timokreon threw the epithet "traitor" at Themistokles he was not inspired by the growing campaign of slander, which would end by driving him out of Greece – to be a pensioner of the Persian King. In its context the word brands Themistokles' betrayal of friendship and nothing more[10]. When Themistokles *was* charged as a traitor and fled to Persia, his old enemy triumphed openly. A new hate poem appeared. No longer was *he* the only one to have dealings with the Medes, other foxes were around. Frank recognition that Themistokles had been framed – and Timokreon might have been capable of this – would have simply increased his delight. Had he not after all presented himself as the essentially innocent victim of malice, corruption and betrayal[11]?

Doubtless Timokreon's praise of Aristeides was not disinterested, but whether it won him recall to Ialysos – even after Themistokles' ostracism – may be doubted. The tone of his second poem is that of a man still smarting from his disgrace, still probably suffering its consequences. What

this time (see Price and Waggoner, *op. cit.* [n. 5], 91, no. 667–668; E. S. G. Robinson, *NC* 1961, 114f.) and also at Halikarnassos (E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 1901–1927, pl. 146,15). See further S. K. Eddy, *AJPh* 94, 1973, 54–56. Ainos adopted the triple *siglos* denomination when it began coinage *ca* 470 B. C., the Persian standard being familiar in eastern Thrace and the Chersonnese, main areas of Ainos' trade. See J. M. F. May, *Ainos: its History and Coinage*, 1950, 9–15; 265–269. Ainos seems to have been understandably a little slow to commit itself firmly and irrevocably against Persia. Barron, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 83 and 86f., soberly questions Kos's initial "enthusiasm" for "the anti-Persian cause".

[9] Bowra, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 354, was the first to seize the probable point of the Lato reference. Timokreon says "since Lato showed her hatred for Themistokles", but my gloss on this is clearly implied. Plutarch (*Aristeides* 2–3; 7) stresses the constant rivalry between the two men. But, even in inferior sources, Aristeides is normally cleared of any complicity in the final ruin of Themistokles. See the sensible discussion by Podlecki, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 39f.; 123f.

[10] See Podlecki, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 52f. He rightly argues that the poem *could* have been written after the disgrace of Pausanias and Leotychidas (contrary to general assumption), since it is simply their role in 480/79 B. C. that is in question for Timokreon – they are to be praised just in that context. Podlecki, however, concedes my view of "traitor" as perfectly possible.

[11] For the second poem see Plut. *Them.* 21,5–7 (fr. 2–3 D) and Page *PMG* fr. 728–729; Bowra, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 35; Podlecki, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 53f. (with Bowra's version). Page adds a new fragment (his fr. 730), which recalls "the three talents" (paid to Themistokles) of the first poem. The poet had forgiven nothing!

lay behind his expulsion? We know that he once went up to Susa. As a high liver and a great athlete, he made a sensation at the King's court, challenging and beating all the champion boxers. He must have been richly rewarded with gifts and money. This was the King's way of winning friends in Greek cities. Acceptance of royal favour could prove an embarrassment in changed conditions. It might not help a man that he had gone to Susa, as Timokreon probably did, on an official embassy from his city and not on his own account[12].

There is some evidence for Rhodian appeasement of Persia about this time. Later patriotic Rhodian historians tried to cover the traces. Despite the adhesion of inland Caria, Mylasa and even Kaunos, the Ionian Revolt seems to have found little support in Dorian Asia. The Rhodian cities doubtless temporised at first, but the quick collapse of the Cypriote rebellion must have thoroughly frightened them. Only Ionian and Aiolian ships fought at Lade[13]. In 490 B. C. an imposing Persian armada sailed past Rhodes from Cilicia on its way to Naxos, Eretreia and Athens. Its commander Datis lavished rich presents on Athena at Lindos, as a little later on Delian Apollo. Rhodian patriots subsequently told of an attack on Rhodes, native heroism in resistance at Lindos and divine intervention. Men, weather and the gods together compelled Datis to call off the attack and placate the goddess with gifts[14]. Fifth-century Greeks clearly knew nothing of this. If Persia favoured Athena at Lindos, it was presumably because the King regarded the Rhodian cities as firm friends.

[12] For Timokreon see Athen. 10,415F–416A (from Thrasymachos of Chalkedon). Timokreon excelled in the *pentathlon;* this did not regularly include boxing in early days (*RE* 19,524–528), but Thrasymachos – a contemporary of Sokrates – should be trusted for the story. For the King's favour to foreigners and benefactors see Ailian. *Var. Hist.* 1,22; Hdt. 3,20ff.; 84; 160 with 7,8,δ; Xen. *Anab.* 1,2,27; 8,29. He could honour communities in the same way (so Akanthos and Abdera: Hdt. 7,116; 8,120). The custom is well discussed by C. Blinkenberg (C. Blinkenberg, K. F. Kinch and E. Dyggve, *Lindos,* 2, 1, 1941, 192–194). I assume that the visit to Susa pre-dated Timokreon's disgrace. We cannot, of course, be sure of this. An *embassy*, however, would hardly have been sent after the Delian League was founded.

[13] See Hdt. 5,103–106; 112–126 with 6,6–20; 25; Meiggs, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 25–30 (impressed by Hdt. 6,8 on Lade); *RE* Suppl. 5,759f. (Rhodes).

[14] Blinkenberg *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 2, 1, no. 2 (Lindian Chronicle), C 32,65–74; D 1,1–59 (epiphany); Hdt. 6,97f.; 118 (Delos) with *IG* 11,2,161 B 96; *FGrHist* 106 F 4; 5 (most of relevant part of Lindian Chronicle; complete text *FGrHist* 532). For Blinkenberg's good discussion see *op. cit.*, 182f.; 191–198. He refutes Wilamowitz' thorough scepticism (*AA* 1913, 42–46) and Beloch's (*Griech. Gesch.* 2^2,2,81–83) 494 B. C. dating for the gifts, before Lade. I follow most scholars in restoring Datis's name in *FGrHist* 532 B–C 32, 65, against Blinkenberg, who (with Jacoby) prefers Artaphernes; he thinks (197f.) that the Rhodian Timachidas improved the story, making two presentations out of one.

The early Rhodian coinage may be called as evidence. The Asyut Hoard contained 18 staters from the three cities, though all the early series are rare. The latest pieces of Ialysos and Lindos are in fine condition and could not have been long in circulation when the hoard was buried. It seems clear that Rhodian silver coinage continued through the Ionian Revolt and indeed to the end of the 480s[15]. The fine inscribed reverse type of Ialysos (heraldic eagle's head) influenced mints over a wide area of the Persian Empire. By the 490s or 480s it is being copied closely at Cyrene, in Cyprus and in Lycia. The distinctive reverse type of Lindos and Kameiros influenced coinage fabric at Cyrene, in Caria and perhaps at Phaselis. The Lindian lion's-head type was surely copied by an uncertain Cypriote mint, possibly Soloi[16]. The Rhodian cities evidently continued trading vigorously in the Persian sphere. They had from early days participated at Naukratis and "business as usual" was evidently their motto[17].

With the other Asiatic Dorians Rhodes contributed 30 triremes to Xerxes' fleet. Herodotos unluckily does not break this figure down (apart from specifying Artemisia's five ships), but the Rhodian share must have been considerable. The Rhodians had real need of rehabilitation after Mykale[18]. For this scapegoats were required. Timokreon could not hope to escape. His very wealth – partly owed to Persian favour – will have marked him out. With real feeling we find him inveighing in his poetry

[15] See Price and Waggoner, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 94f., no. 694–711. For the hoard's date see n. 6. For the best preserved staters see pl. 26, no. 709–710 (Lindos) and no. 706 rev. (Ialysos). This Ialysos stater leads straight on to the post-480 stater with flat fabric as *BMC: Caria*, pl. 35,3. Two equally fine tetrobols of this type (not as no. 704–705, *pace* Price and Waggoner 95) were published as from the Demanhur and Sakha Hoards (no. 114; 39). For the Sakha Hoard (*ZN* 22, 1900, 231–258) see Price and Waggoner 18; 129 n. 10: it contained intrusions later than the main body, some definitely "post-480". The Demanhur Hoard appeared on the market within months of the Zagazig Hoard (Price and Waggoner 22: "after 470"); it could have been 'contaminated' by odd coins from the latter. See *ZN* 37, 1927, 6–10, for similar doubts about these two hoards at the time of discovery.

[16] For the Ialysos parallels see Price and Waggoner, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 95; 101, no. 762–764 (Lycia); 107, no. 783–784 ("Paphos"); 111, no. 818–822 (Cyrene) with page 114. For the type of incuse see 93 and 96, no. 689–692 with 712f. (Caria); 138 n. 225 (Cyrene); pl. 27, no. 733–738 (Phaselis). For the Lindos obv. see 95f. with 109f., no. 811–817 ("Soloi"?).

[17] For Naukratis see Hdt. 2,178f. and J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, ²1973, 114–151. Phaselis also shared in Naukratis; it was furthermore a colony of Lindos. See Blinkenberg *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 2, 1, no. 2 C, 24,6–10 (*FGrHist* 532 B–C 24,6–10) with 171. Lindian colonists reinforced Cyrene and Soloi: *ibid.*, B 17,109–117; C 33.

[18] Hdt. 7,93; 99; Diod. 11,3,8 (40 ships from Rhodes, etc.).

against the blind god, the cause of all human ills, and consigning him to the deepest depths of Tartaros[19].

2. *Ion of Chios, The Friend of Athens.* – Ion the tragic and dithyrambic poet also wrote prose memoirs, a literary innovation. They were apparently entitled "Visits abroad", anecdotes either of Ion's own travels or of distinguished callers at Chios. The fragments show us Ion meeting Kimon, Perikles and Sophokles[20]. Only the meeting with Sophokles is precisely dated. Ion's fellow tragedian visited Chios in summer 440 B. C. As one of the generals at Samos he had been despatched to summon allied naval contingents and was on his way by Chios to Lesbos. He dined at the house of the Athenian *proxenos* Hermesileos and Ion was one of the company[21]. Conceivably the two men had not yet met, though Ion began competing at Athens *ca* 450 B. C. He found Sophokles a cultured, witty, agreeable Athenian gentleman – with only average ability for politics or war[22].

Ion met Kimon at Athens when he was himself a mere stripling. Kimon was guest of honour at the house of Laomedon, who may have been a guest-friend of Ion's family. This would explain Ion's presence[23]. What was the date of this meeting? Jacoby placed it not very long after the Eurymedon victory and assumed that Ion stayed on at Athens at least till 462 B. C. In that year he heard Kimon's famous plea for Athens to stand by its old yoke-fellow, Sparta[24]. I would rather assume that Ion came to Athens only in 462 B. C. He would then have been born soon after Xerxes' invasion and his naming could reflect the renewed enthusiasm for the 'Ionian' cause in Chios, when the second Ionian Revolt from Persia began[25].

[19] For the poem against Ploutos see Schol. Aristoph. *Acharnians* 532 (531 D) and Page, *PMG* fr. 731. Bowra, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 349f., notes shrewdly its relevance to the Persian connection.

[20] For Ion see E. Diehl, *RE* 9, 1861–1868; F. Jacoby, *CQ* 41, 1947, 1–17 (= *Abhandlungen zur Griechischen Geschichtschreibung*, 1956, 144–168); *FGrHist* 3 B 392.

[21] Athen. 13,603E–604D (*FGrHist* 392 F 6); Thuk. 1,116,1; Androtion *FGrHist* 324 F 38 and Plut. *Per.* 8,8.

[22] *Suda* I 487 *s.* Ἴων (2,653,7ff.) dates his debut (Ol. 82,452/49 B. C.). Jacoby inclined to think (*CQ* 41, 1947, 3 [= *Abhandlungen* 147]) that Ion did not know Sophokles well before they met in Chios.

[23] Plut. *Kimon* 9 (*FGrHist* 392 F 13). Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 4; 16 (= 148f.; 167), regarded Laomedon as a non-Athenian and assumed that Ion came as Kimon's guest friend. In *FGrHist* 3b Komm. 194 he is less sure of this.

[24] Plut. *Kimon* 16,8–10 (*FGrHist* 392 F 14); Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 2–4 (= 145–149).

[25] Ion was παντάπασι μειράκιον at the banquet (Plut. *Kimon* 9,1). For the 'Second Ionian Revolt' see Hdt. 9,104. For Chian zeal note Hdt. 8,132. Ion's father Orthomenes

When and where did Ion meet Perikles? He compared him unfavourably with Kimon, clearly not liking him much. Some scholars assume that the two met at Athens soon after the Samian War. But it is worth noting that it is Stesimbrotos of Thasos – not Ion – who is quoted for Perikles' famous speech on the war dead. Ion would surely not have missed this chance had he been there[26]. Perikles could easily have met Ion at Chios on his way back to Athens after victory. His boast about bettering Agamemnon's record – nine months, not ten weary years! – would suit such a convivial occasion as Ion's meetings with Sophokles and Kimon. I think that Plutarch knew of a tradition that Perikles *was* entertained in Chios at this time. Ion's adverse remarks on Perikles' social manner would rise naturally out of describing the course of the banquet, as did his similar remarks on the other two Athenians[27].

Ion had a son called Tydeus, a very appropriate name for a tragic poet to find. Perhaps he was named after a trilogy on the Theban cycle – the *Argeioi*? – had been warmly received in Athens. This son was put to death in 412 B. C. in Chios by a Spartan officer for Athenian sympathies. He may have been an Athenian *proxenos* like those men in Mytilene who gave Athens early warning of the Lesbian revolt[28]. Ion himself had clearly been well-disposed to Athens – not just to individuals such as Kimon – though he may never have been officially honoured for it[29]. On one occasion he

was 'nicknamed' Xouthos after the father of the legendary Ion (see *Suda, loc. cit.* [n. 22]; Harpokration *s.* Ἴωνν) – probably by some Attic poet (Jacoby, *op. cit.* [n. 20], 1 n. 7 [= 145 n. 7]; *RE* 9, 1861).

[26] Plut. *Per.* 5,3; 28,7f. (Ion; *FGrHist* 392 F 15–16) and 8,9 (Stesimbrotos). Aristotle *Rhet.* 1365a 32 and 1407a 1 might also come from Stesimbrotos.

[27] Jacoby thought that Ion did not personally hear the boast (392 F 16), only distorted rumours of the Funeral Speech – where Perikles had been extolling Athens, not himself. See *op. cit.* (n. 20), 14f. (= 164f.) and *FGrHist* 3b Komm. 199. For F 15 (Ion's verdict on Perikles' manners) Jacoby (*FGrHist, ad loc.*) envisaged an occasion comparable to Ion's meeting with Sophokles. According to Plut. *Per.* 8,8 Perikles once rebuked his fellow-general Sophokles for "eyeing" a pretty boy. This clearly presupposes Ion's anecdote (392 F 6) and it would come very pat if fancied as delivered in Chios. Ion seems to have centred his account of all three Athenians on a *single* meeting.

[28] See Thuk. 8,38,3 with 3,2,3. It would be characteristic of Thukydides to omit a tag such as "the poet" after Ion's name and scholars identify Tydeus without question (Jacoby, *op. cit.* [n. 20], 1 with n. 9 [= 145 with n. 9]; Meiggs, *op. cit.* [n. 2], 362). Tydeus' name *could* be supplied in an Attic proxeny decree of the 420s (*SEG* 12,41,4f.: ἀ | [ναγράψαι Τυδέα τὸν Χ]ιον); see my remarks on the epigraphic facts in *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 33–35. Tydeus was the chief champion of the Argives in their war against Thebes: see Aischylos *Seven against Thebes* 377–396; 570–575.

[29] He was probably not a *proxenos* in 440 B. C., when he stresses the status of Hermesileos (F 6). His dislike of Perikles makes it seem improbable that he would have been offered or accepted the position before *ca* 428 B. C.

presented every male Athenian adult with a jar of choice Chian wine in his delight over tragic and dithyrambic victories. More significantly perhaps he continued to compete at Athens after war came and was placed third in 428 B. C. By 422/21 B. C. he was dead and Aristophanes affectionately recalled him with a poetic flourish borrowed from his own work. Ion and his poetry had been taken to Athenian hearts[30].

The name Tydeus is found at Athens also, but very rarely. Indeed it seems confined to a single family. The general Lamachos had a son of this name and it recurs in a later generation of this line. General himself in 405/04 B. C. Lamachos' son must have been born at latest in the early 430s[31]. Now Aristophanes introduces an anonymous son of Lamachos in his *Peace* of 422/21 B. C. (lines 1270–1294). He is shown as the worthy offspring of a valiant, even bellicose father. Appropriately he quotes from the second part of the *Thebais* of Antimachos, like a new Diomede. Earlier Aristophanes had described the warrior Lamachos himself – in his *Acharnians* – in a line half lifted from the *Seven against Thebes*, where Tydeus is introduced as the chief champion and author of that war. The poet surely knew what he was doing in these passages, even if his audience missed some of the point[32].

Conceivably friendship with Ion led Lamachos to this exotic naming of his son. Tragedians and generals could well mix at Athens, since some Athenians were both. Apart from Sophokles we can adduce Karkinos, general in 432/31 B. C.[33]. Lamachos and Ion, however, might have met at Chios. The former served under Perikles in the Black Sea expedition of *ca* 437 B. C. and could have been a trierarch at Samos three years previously[34]. He was on the generals' board in 425/24 B. C. and may well have had some influence in composing an incipient quarrel between Athens and Chios. The Chians pulled down their new wall in the winter

[30] See Athen. 13,603 F (392 T 5b; F 6); *Suda, loc. cit.* (n. 22) (T 1); Schol. Aristoph. *Peace* 835 (T 2); Hypoth. Eurip. *Hippol.* (T 6); Aristoph. *Peace* 832–838 with Schol. 835; Page *PMG* fr. 745.

[31] See *PA* 13884f. and 8981; *RE* 7 A, 1708f. Tydeus, commander of Athenians at Katana after the Syracusan debacle in 413 B.C. (Lysias 20, 26) may be Lamachos' son – trusted beyond his years on his father's reputation.

[32] In the *Peace* the boy is identified only shortly before his exit (1291). He enters with the line from the *Epigonoi;* see Schol. *Peace* 1270. For Lamachos/Tydeus see *Acharnians* 964f. with *Seven against Thebes* 384; 570–575.

[33] See Thuk. 2,23,2 and *IG* 1^2, 296 + 309a (*SEG* 10,223), 31; 36; 38; *PA* 8255.

[34] See Plut. *Per.* 20,1f. For the *ca* 437 B. C. dating see Meiggs, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 197–199 (against the 450 B. C. dating of *ATL* 3,114–147). Lamachos was the natural choice from three generals in summer 424 B. C. for sailing into the Black Sea (Thuk. 4,75).

and both sides gave guarantees that the 'special relationship' would continue. Personal friendship between Lamachos and Ion may have helped towards this happy outcome[35].

3. Kratinos, Creator of Political Comedy. – Kratinos virtually invented the form of comedy which Aristophanes and Eupolis would perfect[36]. He began writing for the stage in the 450s and continued vigorously – despite Aristophanes' mock dismissal of him – throughout the 420s. He wrote well over twenty plays and won nine first prizes. Only three plays are firmly dated and all these fall in his final period[37]. We have a mass of fragments, many actually attributed to definite plays, and reliable chronology is therefore most important. This could give us some idea of the nature of political satire before the Archidamian War and throw fresh light on the opposition to Perikles in particular. Recently Schwarze has boldly undertaken such a reconstruction. He dates no less than five plays between 449 and 440 B. C. – *Archilochoi, Drapetides, Thrattai, Ploutoi* and *Cheirones* – and draws far-reaching conclusions from them about pre-war politics[38]. The *Archilochoi* certainly seems to have been produced fairly soon after Kimon's death, since one character is given a rather moving lament for the hero[39]. But apart from Kimonian sympathies the fragments reveal very little. Schwarze reads polemic concerning the 'Peace of Kallias' into the satirising of Kimon's brother-in-law. But this is most

[35] See Thuk. 4,75; 50 (Lamachos); 51 (Chios). Meritt linked with this episode a proxeny decree for a Chian (*SEG* 10,76) mentioning 'guarantees'; see *Hesperia* 14, 1945, 115–119 for his discussion. Lamachos' election as general was a foregone conclusion by the Lenaia of 425 B. C. Though lines 569 and 1073ff. show that he was a taxiarch rather than a general at the time of the play, he is allowed to arrogate the title 'general' (593) in his high-flown tragic diction. This has led to talk of interpolation (after the first production) or of a by-election for 426/25 B. C. shortly before the Lenaia: see D. M. Lewis, *JHS* 81, 1961, 119f. for this solution. Lamachos' attitude and role in the play imply that he is 'the man of the hour'. The strong tragic colour given to all his scenes (572–625; 1071–1142; 1174–1234) would have extra point, if I am right about his friendship with Ion and its role this year.

[36] Tzetzes *On Comedy* (Kaibel *Com.Gr.Fr.* p. 18); Hor. *s.* 1,4,1–5 and Pers. 1,123–125; Quint. *inst.* 10,1,65.

[37] The evidence on Kratinos is most conveniently gathered and discussed in J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, 1, 1957, 15–23; *RE* 11,1647–1656. For Aristophanes' jokes see *Knights* 525–535 and *Peace* 700–703. Kratinos' *Cheimazomenoi* was produced at the Lenaia of 425, *Satyrs* at the Lenaia of 424 and *Pytine* at the Dionysia of 423 B. C. (see Hypotheses of *Acharnians, Knights* and *Clouds*).

[38] J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komodie und ihre historische und historiographische Bedeutung*, 1971, 1–29 (useful table of plays discussed and dated on page 195).

[39] See Plut. *Kimon* 10,4 (fr. 1 K) and Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 23; Schwarze, *op. cit.*, 81f.

hazardous. We know nothing more than that Kallias son of Hipponikos was named in the play. The joke seems to have turned in some way on linking him with the deme Melite instead of Alopeke[40]. *Drapetides* ("Runaway Women") cannot be closely dated by the allusions to Lampon the seer and other arguments for the period 447 to 443 B. C. are no stronger[41].

The partial list of Kratinos' plays from Oxyrhynchos is unluckily of no use for chronology. Though the order is not alphabetical, scholars stress that dramatists' plays seem to have been numbered and listed in a puzzling fashion. Order of date of production was by no means always followed in non-alphabetic lists[42]. Other evidence shows clearly that *Pylaia, Deliades, Ploutoi, Nemesis, Drapetides* and *Boukoloi* were not produced in that order. An inscription from Aixone lists Lenaian and Dionysiac victories of the fifth-century *choregoi* from the deme. From this it is clear that *Boukoloi* was produced when Ekphantides was still writing for the stage. He won his first Dionysiac victory *ca* 455 B. C. before Kratinos, but never won at the Lenaia. Since the contests started there before 440 B. C. and Ekphantides won four victories at the Dionysia, we may reasonably assume that he gave up writing by the early 430s[43]. *Deliades,* however, cannot be an early play. Lykourgos, grandfather of the politician and financier, was mocked in it as a devotee of Egyptian cult. He was put to death by the Thirty[44]. Pherekrates mocked his Egyptian ways in his

[40] Fr. 11 K (Kallias) from Schol. Lukian. p. 83 Rabe; Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 83–87. The scholiast is muddled, confusing references in comedy to the Elder Kallias with those to his grandson (Schwarze 83 f.). For Alopeke as the deme of Kallias son of Hipponikos and his descendants see Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 410 (on no. 10 – fourth-century mining leases – line 110). The scholiast on *Frogs* 501 (οὐκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας) says that Kallias son of Hipponikos had a house in Melite; the Lukianos scholiast quotes Kratinos' epithet στιγματίας for Kallias (the Elder?). Was there some link between Melite and the rascally or runaway (branded) slave and was this the point in the *Archilochoi* passage?

[41] Fr. 57–58; 62 K (Lampon); Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 71–79; Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 38 n. *a* (the Thourioi colonists as effeminate 'runaways'?).

[42] See *P. Oxy.* 35, 1968, 48, no. 2739 (E. Lobel); 4, 1904, 69–72, no. 663 (Grenfell and Hunt); L. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophokles* 1, p. xvi.

[43] See A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens,* ²1968, 54–56 (good discussion – with text – of *IG* 2², 3091). Epichares (Ekphantides) is listed before Thrasyboulos (Kratinos) for comedy, but for tragedy the order is reversed: the *choregoi* were therefore exact contemporaries. For Ekphantides see Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 13–15; Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.* 55 (dead by 442 B. C.?); *IG* 2², 2325 col. 1,48–53 with 2318 col. 2,46–48 (easily accessible in Pickard-Cambridge 112 and 104).

[44] See fr. 30 K and Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 33; *PA* 9249; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 2,251 (on no. 189 [*IG* 2², 337], 42ff. [the grandson quotes the Attic temple of Isis as a precedent]); U. Koehler, *Hermes* 5, 1871, 352.

Savages of 421/20 B. C. and Aristophanes accordingly called him 'Ibis' a few years later in the *Birds*. A date *ca* 430 B. C. seems suitable for *Deliades*[45]. For *Nemesis* Schwarze has already argued a similar dating. Chairis the flute-player was mentioned in it. This musician is known also from Aristophanes and evidently flourished in the 420s[46]. The allusion to the living Perikles and his role as Zeus ties the play down, I think, to the last year or two of his life[47].

Cheirones certainly has Perikles/Zeus – and Aspasia/Hera for good measure – and yet Schwarze dates it to 440 B. C. without hesitation. He has virtually to ignore the evidence on two named comic butts. Deitrephes of fr. 233 K is surely the same man as the general of 414 B. C., who ist ridiculed -- as by Kratinos – by Plato in his *Festivals* on grounds of his alleged foreign birth[48]. Pandeletos of fr. 242 K reappears in Aristophanes (*Clouds* 924). Schwarze evades the natural conclusion by pressing the word πρότερον in Aristophanes and so consigning Pandeletos and his precepts to an earlier age. There is no good reason for this[49]. The "Admetos" and "Kleitagora" skolia keep close company in fr. 236 K exactly as they do in *Wasps* 1239–1247. This would seem to reflect a passing vogue for these two drinking songs above all others[50]. A dating *ca* 430 B. C. would suit *Cheirones* also.

Perikles/Zeus recurs admittedly in Kratinos' *Thrattai* and in the very passage which Schwarze uses to clinch his 443 B. C. dating. Like other scholars he takes fr. 71 K as an allusion to the famous *ostrakophoria* of that year – "since the *ostrakon*-vote is now past history[51]". But Euathlos – fr. 75 K – cannot possibly by dated so early. He was a young Athenian pupil of Protagoras and was lampooned as a rising prosecutor by

[45] See Pherekrates fr. 11 K (Schol. *Birds* 1294) and Athen. 5,218D (date): *Birds* 1296.

[46] Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 24–40 (31 and n. 64 on Chairis); fr. 118 K (*Suda* X 172 *s.*Χαῖρις with *Acharnians* 866 and *Peace* 951.

[47] Plut. *Per.* 3,5 (fr. 111 K = fr. 113 Edmonds). Aristophanes *Acharnians* 528–531 links the Perikles/Zeus Olympios joke intimately with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

[48] See *Cheirones* fr. 240; 241 K (Plut. *Per.* 3,5; 24,9); Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 55–64 (61 on Deitrephes); Thuk. 7,29,1 with *Birds* 798; 1442; Plato fr. 31 K (Schol. *Birds* 798) (Deitrephes). I have argued this case more closely in a short paper forthcoming in *Mnemosyne*.

[49] Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 61 n. 138. Alternatively he argues for two men of the same name – as with Euathlos (67 n. 159): but both names are extremely rare at Athens.

[50] I have found them associated nowhere else, though "Kleitagora" occurs in *Lysistrata* 1237 (with "Telamon"). "Admetos" is linked with "Harmodios" (as in the *Wasps* passage; see 1224ff.) in Aristophanes *Pelargoi* (fr. 430 K).

[51] See Plut. *Per.* 13,10 (ἐπειδὴ τοὔστρακον παροίχεται); Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 65–69.

Aristophanes and Plato[52]. As Wilamowitz and Geissler saw, the play must be dated therefore *ca* 430 B. C. and the ostracism allusion revalued. Plato's famous line about Hyperbolos' ostracism may usefully be compared. Kratinos seems to be saying "here comes Zeus/Perikles afraid of no one since ostracism is a thing of the past[53]". The Bendis theme in the play – perhaps embracing the title and the chorus, as Schwarze suggests – would be particularly apt about the time when Athens and King Sitalkes were meditating alliance, if not already allies. The cult was already established in Peiraieus, but not necessarily for very long[54].

Schwarze's early dating for *Ploutoi* seems free from the objections which I have been urging against his view of the last two plays. He wants to assign it to the Dionysia of 442 B. C. Before his monograph appeared the tendency was to put it in 437/36 B. C. because of the strong attack on Hagnon son of Nikias and his 'unjust wealth'. In this year after all he founded Amphipolis and could have been said to have made Athens' fortune as well as his own[55]. Hagnon, however, was already a general in 441/40 B. C. and we can now push his prominence further back. New evidence shows that he was voted against in the *ostrakophoria* of 443 B. C.[56]. For the relative placing of *Ploutoi* we have some control in a useful passage of Athenaeus; he informs us that it was produced before Krates' *Animals*. Now Krates, a younger contemporary of Kratinos, appears from *Knights* 537–540 and other evidence to have stopped writing before the

[52] For Euathlos see Diog. Laert. 9,8,50–56; Quint. *inst.* 3,1,10; Gell. 5,10,3–16; Aristoph. *Ach.* 710; *Wasps* 590ff. and *Merchantships* fr. 411 K with Plato fr. 102 K (from *Peisandros*). I have argued this point out in *op. cit.* (n. 48).

[53] Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 14, 1879, 319 n. 3 and P. Geissler, *Die Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, 1925, 22; Plato fr. 187 K (οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἵνεκ' ὄστρακον εὑρέθη).

[54] See Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 64–66; Thuk. 2,29 (summer 431 B. C.). *IG* 1^2, 310, 207f. (429/28 B. C.) and 324 (= Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1969, no. 72), 68 (423/22 B. C.) show Bendis already with funds to lend.

[55] Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 40–54; Pap. Cumont fr. 2,9–18 (P. Goossens, *REA* 37, 1935, 402ff.; Schwarze 192f.; Edmonds, *op. cit.* [n. 37], 79f.); Thuk. 4,102,3 and Schol. Aischin. 2,31 (Amphipolis). Goossens (412) took line 13f. – ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀρχαιόπλουτός γ' ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρ[χῆς ἔχων] | πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔστ' αὐτῷ – as involving a *double entendre:* ἐξ ἀρχῆς would mean "from the proceeds of office". Schwarze (47) denies this, taking ἐξ ἀρχῆς in its normal adverbial sense ("von Anfang an") as simply strengthening ἀρχαιόπλουτος. A speaker is defending Hagnon, he thinks, from the charge of unjustly acquired wealth by insisting on the antiquity of his family fortunes: the answer to this is that Hagnon's father worked as a porter for hire! With Goossens I take line 13f. as an ironical "defence"; if we read ἐξ ἀρ[χῶν] we can surely get round Schwarze's linguistic objection.

[56] Thuk. 1,117,2; F. Willemsen, *AD* 23 B, 1968, 28ff.

Archidamian War. A safe date for the *Ploutoi* would be not later than 435 B. C.[57].

I must confess that the Amphipolis year remains most tempting. This dating could solve one of the strange puzzles in our very mixed tradition for Old Comedy. The scholiast on *Archarnians* (67) records that in 437/36 B. C. the decree against personal attacks in comedy was repealed. It had allegedly been passed in 440/39 B. C.[58]. Now one might well ask how any ancient commentator knew just when such a decree had been repealed – as opposed to knowing when it was voted. The shortest answer is that a play containing decided personal attack was fixed by a didascalic notice in the archonship of Euthymenes. Why should that play not have been *Ploutoi*[59]?

The evidence for the decree itself may not have been any better. Let us suppose that a play was dated in the archonship of Morychides, in which the poet apparently resorted to covert satire, as though getting round a ban on anything explicit. I believe that there was such a play and that we know its name. The Hypothesis of Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* – unluckily incomplete at the start – ends with the assertion that the play contained some clever, hidden satire of Perikles for 'bringing the war on Athens'[60]. Since Hermippos called Perikles 'King of the Satyrs' and Eupolis made Aspasia 'Helen', it is easy to see what kind of satiric point the commentators would have in mind. Dionysos/Paris brings Helen to Troy and with her war[61]. Now Aspasia was accused of leading Perikles to involve Athens in war with Samos over her native city Miletos. Plutarch makes this

[57] See Athen. 6,267 E; Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 153–171; *RE* 11, 1623f. (Krates).

[58] ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος· οὗτος ὁ ἄρχων ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου . . . See on this Körte, *RE* 11,1233; Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 178ff. Schwarze rightly saw that personal attack was all that could have been banned und regarded Perikles – provoked by Kratinos' assault in *Cheirones* – as the ban's author.

[59] The attack on Hagnon in *Ploutoi* is unusually extended. He seems to have been the central character in a mock trial comparable to that of Labes/Laches (with his prosecutor Kyon/Kleon) in *Wasps* 891ff. See Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 46–49.

[60] *P. Oxy.* 4, 1904, 69, no. 663 (Edmonds, *op. cit.* [n. 37], 33–35; Schwarze, *op. cit.* [n. 38], 189f.). It ends κωμῳδεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγειοχὼς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον. Schwarze (17f.) defends δι' ἐμφάσεως well against such emendations as van Leeuwen's δι' Ἀσπασίαν (*Mnemosyne* n. s. 32, 1904, 446): it means "through hidden allusion", as Körte argued long ago (*Hermes* 39, 1904, 490). He also rightly takes ἐν τῷ δράματι in a wide sense ("in the whole course of the action") against attempts to limit the phrase to incidental jokes at Perikles' expense in the play's text.

[61] Hermippos fr. 46 K; Eupolis *Prospaltioi* fr. 249 K (Schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235 E); Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 14–18; 101–104; 122.

allegation the occasion for a character-study of the lady and moralising on the political influence of such as her[62]. This may have been the war – at its height precisely in 440/39 B. C. – to which the Hypothesis of *Dionysalexandros* refers.

Since the beginning of the Hypothesis is lost, scholars have naturally thought of the Archidamian War. Aspasia after all was selected as a scapegoat for that as early as Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and Kratinos may well have made the same point in *Cheirones*[63]. The apparent echoes of the *Dionysalexandros* in Hermippos and Eupolis reinforced this later orthodox dating[64].

Scholars ancient and modern, however, may be mistaken in thinking that the play contained any covert political satire. Old Comedy knew pure mythological burlesque without any such overtones and Kratinos' own *Odysseis* is a prime example of the genre. It made straight comic fun out of an episode of the *Odyssey*. Perhaps *Dionysalexandros* did the same with the main episode in the pre-history of the *Iliad*[65]. Three factors could have led to confusion about the play's message. Firstly the Dionysos/Perikles equation was known to Old Comedy. Secondly Eupolis had called Aspasia Helen – he may not have been alone in this. Thirdly Aspasia was charged with responsibility, through Perikles, for the Archidamian War by the same early witnesses. Even without explicit Old Comedy authority – and there *may* have been some in one of the plays – it would be tempting at some stage of the tradition to blame Aspasia's influence for the Samian War as well. Plutarch indeed shows that this had happened well before his day.

If my main line in this section of my paper is right, there remains very little pre-war satire in the plays of Kratinos as they have fragmentarily

[62] Plut. *Per.* 24,2 and 25,1; Douris *FGrHist* 76 F 65. Schwarze (*op. cit.* [n. 38], 15) recognised acutely that this probably went back to some allusion in comedy and wrote that "dementsprechend wird die Anklage, Perikles habe Aspasia zuliebe Krieg geführt, in dem unmittelbaren Sog dieses Krieges aufgekommen sein (440/39) . . ." Kratinos – and others – would thus have had a precedent for their charges *ca* 430 B. C.

[63] See *Acharnians* 523–529 and Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 8; 15; 37f.; 136; *Cheirones* fr. 240; 241 K (for the date see above). Schwarze's whole interesting discussion of *Dionysalexandros* (6–24) assumes the 430 B. C. dating.

[64] Schwarze (*op. cit.* [n. 38], 15; 105; 122) argues that these poets wrote under the fresh, *recent* inspiration of Kratinos' play.

[65] See Schwarze, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 1; 27–29, on pure mythological burlesque in Old Comedy (he rejects this explanation of *Nemesis*, however, in the second passage); Platonios *On Comedy* (Kaibel p. 4f.) on *Odysseis;* Edmonds, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 65–71 (*Odysseis:* fr. 135–150 K); Körte, *RE* 11,1239–1241 (mythological burlesque not uncommon, often straight).

survived. We can see that men like Kallias son of Hipponikos, Lampon, Hagnon and Perikles himself were freely criticised in this period, but we can rarely seize the point of the criticism. Hagnon was attacked for low birth and sordidly gained wealth, Perikles for wasting Assembly time with fine speeches and letting work on the Middle Wall drag on[66]. We cannot at the moment move beyond this to any ambitious reconstruction of pre-war society and politics as reflected in Old Comedy. Kratinos keeps his secrets, but his creative force and genius can be felt even in the sad wreck of his works.

[66] For Perikles see Kratinos fr. *incertum* 300 K (Plut. *Per.* 13,8; *mor.* 351 A) and Schwarze's discussion in *op. cit.* (n. 38), 87–89.

ANTHONY J. PODLECKI

Herodotus in Athens?

Herodotus' alleged sojourn in the Athens of Pericles, and the impact (for better or worse) which his stay there had upon his work, have become something of a modern orthodoxy. The debate was re-opened by Strasburger[1], who in an important article argued that Herodotus' comments about Athens in general and Pericles in particular were less than enthusiastic, or even openly hostile, and that therefore the generally held view of Herodotus as an uncritical admirer of Athenian Democracy must be rejected. In a recent monograph Fornara thinks he can hear behind Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars a cautionary tale read to the Peloponnesian-War-torn Athenians of the evils of the empire and aggrandizement[2]. But what if Herodotus' alleged protracted sojourn in Athens were in reality nothing more than a fleeting visit – to be measured, say, in weeks or months rather than years – or even *never took place at all*? Should we not then want to reconsider these estimates of the influence his visit is alleged to have had upon the cast that he ultimately gave to his work? We might even be led to conclude that the invitation extended by recent studies to read between Herodotus' lines must be politely but firmly declined. We ought perhaps to take another look at the evidence which purports to find Herodotus in Athens[3].

[1] H. Strasburger, "Herodot und das perikleische Athen", *Historia* 4, 1955, 1–25 = W. Marg (ed.), *Herodot*, ²1965, 574–608, with additional references.

[2] C. W. Fornara, *Herodotus: An Interpretative Essay*, 1971, ch. 5 (75ff.); *idem*, *JHS* 91, 1971, 25–34. Both Fornara (75) and Strasburger (*op. cit.*, 3 = 578 Marg²) acknowledge the influence on their own views of H. Nissen, "Der Ausbruch des peloponnesischen Krieges", *HZ* 63, 1889, 385–427; esp. 419f., for Herodotus.

[3] I am grateful that my paper should be included in a collection which must have far more honour than it offers bestowed rather on it by the distinction of the honorand; it was first read to the Ancient History seminar at Leeds University on 24 January 1973, and I wish to thank J. D. Smart, P. J. Rhodes and Professor H. B. Mattingly for their helpful comments on that occasion.

1. Alleged Contacts with Athens. – Easily the most impressive (at first sight) pieces of evidence are those which record Herodotean performances in Athens and the Athenians' reactions to and extravagant honours of them:

> A.1. Euseb. *Canon.* Ol. 83,4 (445/44): Herodotus reads in Athens from his work and receives honours[4]; A.1.a. Syncellus 1,470 (Dind)[5].
> A.2. Diyllus *FGrHist* 73 F 3 (= Plut. *mor.* 862 B): Herodotus is rewarded with ten *talanta*, on motion by Anytus[6].

A.1 and A.1.a obviously derive from an earlier source, but it is not clear that this was Diyllus, the early-third-century continuator of Ephorus; nor can it be specified what (if anything) lies behind the date of 445/44: it may be nothing more than a *post eventum* synchronism with the imaginary antecedents of the Thurii expedition. With regard to A.2, if the emendation of Turnebus be accepted, this Anytus is hardly to be identified with his more famous homonym, the accuser of Socrates[7]. Furthermore, the egregiously high figure of ten *talanta* must make the whole story suspect[8]. We may also question the pertinence of such a detail to a 'history of my times' by a writer of the early Ptolemaic period. Jacoby tentatively suggested that it occurred in a "lob der geschichtsschreibung in einem prooimion", but he did not go far enough in remarking that "außer dem faktum der zahlung ist nichts sicher"[9]; the 'fact' itself must be called into serious question.

But is there not evidence in the *Suda* and in Plutarch?

[4] Euseb. *Canon.* Ol. 83,4 (113 Helm): *Herodotus cum Athenis libros suos (in concilio) legisset, honoratus est.* Vers. Armen. Ol. 83,3 (193 Karst): "Erodotos ward in Athen Schriften verlesend geehrt".

[5] Syncell. 1,470 (Dind): Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορικὸς ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων βουλῆς ἐπαναγνοὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς βίβλους.

[6] Diyllus of Athens *FGrHist* 73 F 3 (= Plut. *de Hdt. mal* 26 [*mor.* 862 B]): ὅτι μέντοι δέκα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν (sc. Ἡρόδοτος) ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀνύτου (Turnebus: ἀντὶ τοῦ Plut.) τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, κτλ.

[7] *PA* 1324. *Pace* the strenuous arguments of E. Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* 1, 1892, 200f.; 2, 1899, 229), who accepted the identification and accordingly dated the alleged "gift" to *ca* 430.

[8] Some, therefore, have wished to emend; see W. Aly, "Herodots Vorlesung in Athen", *RhM* 64, 1909, 637. The problems in the biographical tradition are discussed fully by K. von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1, 1967, Text, 123ff.

[9] Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2 C, p. 113; cf. *idem, RE* Suppl. 2, 226ff. = *Griechische Historiker,* 1956, 17ff.

B.1. *Suda* X 595 *s. Choirilos:* meeting between Herodotus and Ch.[10];
B.2. Plut. *mor.* 785 B: Sophocles (at the age of 55) composed an "ode" for Herodotus[11].

Both of these notices seem to be pure fictions: the former devised to give a romantic *aition* for Choerilus' own poem on the Persian Wars, the latter based on the passages "shared" between the two writers. Even if both accounts were proved true, their locales probably were not Athens; the *Suda* entry clearly implies that the meeting between Herodotus and Choerilus took place at Halicarnassus, as is shown by the beginning of the entry. Let us suppose for a moment, however, that some substrate of fact underlies B.2. If the traditional chronographic date of *ca* 496 be accepted for Sophocles' birth[12], the alleged date of his *Ode to Herodotus* will have been *ca* 441, *à propos* of which Bergk commented: *misit autem Sophocles elegidium ad Herodotum eo tempore quo ab Atheniensibus praetor creatus Samio bello interfuit*[13].

The issue of the *loci* allegedly shared between Sophocles and Herodotus can no longer be brooked[14]:

B.2. a. (Herodotus) 1,32,2 ~ (Sophocles) *Ph.* 305–306; b. 1,32,7 ~ *O. T.* 1528–1530 (cf. *Tr.* 1–3); c. 1,36,2 ~ fr. 401 P(earson) (with P's note); d. 1,108,1 ~ *El.* 421–423; e. 1,126,6 (cf. 3,139,3; 4,8,3; 5,92,γ,3) ~ *O. C.* 1585; fr. 196 P (with note); f. 1,213 ~ *Aj.* 386; *O. T.* 413; g. 2,35,2 ~ *O. C.* 337–341; h. 3,94,2 ~ *Ant.* 1038–1039; i. 3,119,4 ~ *Ant.* 904ff.; j. 4,64 ~ fr. 473 P; k.

[10] *Suda* X 595 (4,834,24ff. Adler): Χοιρίλος, Σάμιος, . . . ἄλλοι δὲ Ἁλικαρνασέα ἱστοροῦσι . . . φυγεῖν τε ἐκ Σάμου καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τῷ ἱστορικῷ παρεδρεύσαντα λόγων ἐρασθῆναι· οὗτινος αὐτὸν καὶ παιδικὰ γεγονέναι φασίν.

[11] Plut. *an seni* 3, (*mor.* 785 B): ᾠδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὢν πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα.

[12] *Marm. Par.*, *FGrHist* 239 A 56; 64.

[13] Bergk, *PLG*[4], 2,245; Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 233f. = 21f., for a sceptical view.

[14] Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. griech. Lit.* 1,2,318 n. 3; How and Wells, *Comm. Hdt.* 1,7 n. 3. J. Rasch, *Sophocles quid debeat Herodoto in rebus ad fabulas exornandas adhibitis*, Leipzig 1913, discussed passages a.; d.; g.; i.; k.; l.; m.; p.; t., and adds several other parallels, the most important of which are: Hdt. 1,8–10 ~ *Aj.* 66ff. (Athena the temptress ~ Kandaules; Odysseus ~ Gyges); Hdt. 6,139,1 (cf. 9,93,3) ~ *O. T.* 25ff.; 269ff.; Hdt. 1, 108ff. ~ exposure of infants and their later recognition in *Alex.* and *Tyro.*

4,95,5 ~ *El.* 62–64; l. 4,170 (cf. 4,189,3) ~ *El.* 701–702; m. 5,58,1 ~ fr. 514 P; n. 6,21,2 ~ *Aj.* 260–262; o. 6,75 ~ *Ph.* 1207[15]; p. 6,107,1 ~ *O. T.* 981–982; q. 7,10, ε ~ *Ant.* 712ff. (cf. 473ff.)[16]; r. 7,16,α,1 ~ *Ant.* 723 (cf. also 707; 710–711); s. 7,18,2 ~ *Aj.* 1250–1251 (cf. 1077–1078); t. 7,46 (cf. 1,31, Solon to Croesus) ~ *O. C.* 1224f.; u. 8,55 ~ *O. C.* 697–698 (with Jebb's note *ad loc.*); v. 8,143,2 ~ *Ph.* 1330–1331 (with Webster's note *ad loc.*).

It is always possible to argue that such "correlations", taken individually, are based on subjective impressions; mere accidents of linguistic survival[17] or part of the shared repository of Greek folk wisdom or popular morality; derived from a common source. Taken together, however, the cumulative case for familiarity by one writer with the other's work is impressive. We may then legitimately ask: "Who influenced whom? When? Where?" These doubts cannot of course be settled without further evidence, but it is not *prima facie* the simplest explanation that Herodotus derived his inspiration sitting in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens watching performances of plays[18]. Close verbal and thematic parallels of the kind catalogued above imply – almost entail – a written text, and the fame acquired by Herodotus by his recitations at Olympia (to which we shall presently proceed), makes it not implausible that copies of at least parts of the *Histories* may have been circulating among Athenian *literati* in the 440s. As for the numerous and palpable "reverse" influences of tragedy upon Herodotus' work – from the carefully patterned *rheseis* to the general tone of predestination – there is nothing here that is specifically Sophoclean, nor was Athens the only place where Herodotus could have seen tragedies performed.

I now list "parallels" in Euripides and Aristophanes:

C.1.a. 2,112ff. ~ Eur. *El.* 1280–1283; *Hel., passim;* b. 4,103 ~ *I. T., passim;* c. 1,107 ~ *El.* 34ff.; d. 2,24 ~ *El.* 737ff. (cf. fr.

[15] J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus,* 1939, 34 n. 2, accepting Hermann's χρῶτ' for the MSS' κρᾶτ'.

[16] On this point see further my paper "Creon and Herodotus", *TAPhA* 97, 1966, 365f.

[17] So, for example, the shared formations such as *epanastasis* (3,44,2; 118,1; 119,2 ~ *Ant.* 533) and *katastasis* (5, 92, β, 1, etc. ~ *Aj.* 1247), noted by A. A. Long, *Language and Thought in Sophocles,* 1968, 31.

[18] Cf. also A. Lesky, "Tragodien bei Herodot?", above 224ff.

152; 153 Nauck²). C.2.a. 1,4 ~ Aristoph. *Ach.* 523–529; b. 1,114,2 ~ *Ach.* 92; c. 1,133,1 ~ *Ach.* 85–87; d. 1,192,1 ~ *Ach.* 82; e. 2,73 ~ *Ach.* 89; f. 4,2,1 ~ *Ach.* 862–863; g. 1,179 ~ *Av.* 1124ff.; h. 1,195,2 ~ *Av.* 510; i. 2,127,1 ~ *Av.* 1130; j. 2,136,4 ~ *Av.* 1142ff.; k. 7,14 ~ *Av.* 488.

Attempts to find "echoes" of Herodotean stories or motifs in the plays of Euripides or Aristophanes are not new[19]. What seems to be fallacious doctrine, however, is the attempt to argue from *propter* to *post* (or, rather, *ante*). The alleged parodies in *Acharnians* and *Aves,* if they be accepted as true parodies, "prove" only "daß auch [as in 425 B.C.] um 414 sein [sc. Herodotus'] Werk in Athen viel gelesen war"[20], not that he published it – by implication at Athens – just before either of those dates[21]. It would be just as illogical to argue that the similarities between Artemisia's martial leanings (7,99) and Lysistrata's (626–627) proved that Herodotus published his *Histories ca* 412 B.C. The fact that Herodotus places Amphiaraus' oracle at Lebadeia (8,134), while by 414, the date of Aristophanes' *Amphiaraus,* the shrine is located firmly at Oropus[22], gives us nothing more than a rough *terminus ante quem* for the publication of that part of the *Histories.*

Is there any evidence for Herodotus' protracted sojourn in Athens to be gleaned from Thucydides?

> D.1.a. Thuc. 1,21,1–22,4: ". . . nor after the manner of the logographers, whose compositions are designed less with an eye to truth than to seducing their hearers' attention: their 'facts' cannot be verified, and most of them, through long passage of time, end up as myths unworthy of belief . . . When men finish whatever war they are in they are lost in amazement of the past . . . The absence of the mythical in my account will perhaps deprive it of the ability to titillate an audience . . . It has been

[19] See, for instance, Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 232 (= 20); Schmid, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 591 n. 2; G. Perrotta, "Erodoto parodiato da Aristofane", *RIL* 59, 1926, 105–114; Fornara, *JHS* 91, 1971, 25–34. J. Wells, *Studies in Herodotus,* 1923, 169ff.

[20] Schmid, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 591 n. 3.

[21] Composition before *Ach.:* Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 232 (= 20); before *Av.:* Fornara, *JHS* 91, 1971, 29ff.

[22] Aristoph. *Amph.* produced at the Lenaea in the same year as *Av.* (*Av., hypoth.* 2). Comparison with Hdt. 8,134: J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias: Description of Greece,* ²1913 (repr. 1965), 5,31.

> composed more as an artefact that will last than as a piece to win prizes before transient audiences." b. 1,73,2 (the Athenian speaker at Sparta in 432 B.C.): "why should we speak of the very distant past, a period when the only testimony consists of accounts heard from others, not facts open to scrutiny by an audience? But we must speak of the Persian War period, although you are yourselves familiar with it, even if people feel some annoyance at those who are always bringing it up." c. 1,20,3: "there are many other things still now in existence and not cast into oblivion by time, about which other Greeks as well hold incorrect opinions: for example, that the Lacedaemonians' Kings each cast not one vote but two, and that there is a 'Pitanate division' in their army – which there never was."

These passages, singly and in combination, put it beyond reasonable doubt that Thucydides was familiar with Herodotus' work[23]. I shall go further. I judge it certain that he was familiar not only with its content, as the "corrections" (see above) show, but also with Herodotus' manner of presentation, namely recitations before audiences. Whence this familiarity? Thucydides might have heard his "predecessor" reciting parts of his work in Athens, if the latter visited and performed there. But there is another equally strong possibility:

> D.2.a. *Suda* Θ 414 *s. Thoukydides* (2,721,12ff. Adler): while still a boy, Thucydides heard Herodotus reciting at Olympia the *Histories* he had composed and, transported by emotion, Thucydides broke into tears[24].
> D.2.b. Lucian 62 *Herodotus or Aëtion* 1: "Herodotus . . . coming into the temple chamber presented himself not as a spectator but as a competitor at the Olympic games; he sang his *Histories* and cast a spell on those present to such a degree that

[23] Compare Hdt. 9,53,2 (Pitanate division; cf. 3,55,2); 6,57,1 (Kings' two votes). Gomme (*Hist. Comm. Thuc.* 1,137) calls it "an interesting, if not very important question whether Thucydides here [at 1,20,3] has Herodotus directly in mind". He concludes that Thucydides "almost certainly has other writers, and common opinion, in mind as well as Herodotus". Note that Thucydides' strictures at 1,20,2 and 6,54,1ff. (murder of Hipparchus) seem also to apply to Herodotus (cf. already *Schol.* Thuc. 1,20,2). Thuc. 1,20,3, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, may well be parodying a favourite phrase of Herodotus.

[24] Similar is Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 54, although the locale is not specified.

> his books, since they too were nine in number, were titled after the Muses."

That Herodotus knew Olympia well can be shown to be likely on internal grounds from the relatively large number of details he records that (as we shall see in the following section) have an Olympic origin or focus. The story of the youthful Thucydides' rapture at Herodotus' recitations need not be literally true, just as the award of the Muses' names as book-titles is almost certainly fanciful. What is significant is the collocation of both Thucydides and Herodotus at Olympia, possibly in the 440s if the *Suda*'s detail "while still a boy" is veridical. Herodotus cannot have been the only writer to achieve celebrity by recitations at Olympia. Indeed, we know the name of another prominent and mobile *litterateur* of the period – and the parallel may turn out to be more instructive than at first sight appears:

> D.3.a. Philostr. *Vit. soph.* 1,11 (Hippias): ". . . in wide acclaim he would charm Greece at Olympia with his varied and carefully excogitated *logoi.*"
> D.3.b. Plato *Hipp. min.* 363 C (Hippias speaking): ". . . whenever the Olympic festival is on I always go up to Olympia and, entering the sacred precinct, offer to speak on whatever subject anyone chooses of those prepared by me for exhibition, and answer questions . . ." (cf. 364 A).
> D.3.c. Lucian 62 *Herodotus or Aëtion* 3: "when they found out later [about Herodotus' honours at Olympia] . . . Hippias the local sophist, and Prodicus of Ceos . . . and many others themselves delivered addresses before the festival audience, as a result of which they soon became famous."

2. *Travels.* – The *Histories* have been scanned thoroughly and often for internal evidence concerning Herodotus' travels. On internal grounds it has been concluded that he personally visited: Samos, Delos, Thasos; Paros and Thera; Phoenician Tyre and Babylon; Scythia and the Black Sea; Egypt and North Africa; Sicily and South Italy[25]. Without firm bio-

[25] For a convenient summary see Jacoby, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 247ff. (= 28ff.); J. L. Myres, *Herodotus: Father of History,* 1953, 5ff. The sceptic's view is represented by A. H. Sayce. *The Ancient Empires of the East, Herodotos I–III,* 1883, xxivff.; for a judicious review of the "Egyptian Question", see F. Örtel, *Herodots ägyptischer Logos und die Glaubwürdigkeit Herodots,* 1970, 10ff.

graphical data, reconstructions of Herodotean itineraries remain schematic and highly conjectural. What evidence there is points to a date of birth *ca* 484, departure for the West *ca* 443. Even if we allow a return from *Magna Graecia* later, the economical hypothesis will be that his major travels were over by the date of the foundation of Thurii[26]. This conclusion is corroborated at several points. It is not clear what lies behind Eusebius' notice under Ol. 78,1 (Ol. 78,2 vers. Armen.), 468/67, *Herodotus historiarum scribtor agnoscitur*. Stein suggested it has to do with his expulsion from Halicarnassus recorded by the *Suda* lexicon[27]; indeed, if the *Suda* is correct that the tyrant who drove Herodotus into exile to Samos was Artemisia's grandson, the event is perhaps to be dated later still. Herodotus put his time in exile to good use, as his familiarity with the history and antiquities of Samos attests[28]. From Samos, according to the *Suda*, "he returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant". Another Herodotean expedition can be dated with some accuracy, namely that to Egypt and Cyrene. Herodotus comments on the death of Arcesilaus IV (*ca* 460) and saw skulls from the battle of Papremis (*ca* 459)[29]. His remark at 4,197,1, that "the majority of Libyans did not pay attention to the Persian King, either then [before 500] or now", would have been most apposite at a time when Inarus' revolt (which Herodotus in fact mentions at 7,7) was a recent occurrence. At 4,198,1 he offers the opinion that Libya is not *spoudaie*, nor to be compared with Asia or Europe in *arete*, which suggests a somewhat leisurely tour through the country – hardly, in any case, the hurried notes of a war-correspondent – and so likelier to have been written after the failure of the revolt *ca* 454[30]; his denial of *arete* may in fact imply that failure.

It is furthermore worth remarking on the far-flung nature of Herodotus' other trips, some of which must have involved fairly long stop-overs. A journey to Olbia and the Borysthenes river (4,18) was a matter of months, not weeks, and the same is true of a trip to Babylon (1,178ff.); a one-way trip down the Nile to Elephantine took twenty days

[26] von Fritz, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 125.

[27] Stein, 1, III–IV n. 2; IX.

[28] B. M. Mitchell, "Herodotus and Samos", *JHS* 95, 1975, 75ff.

[29] Hdt. 4,164; 3,12. I cannot share the extreme scepticism of D. Fehling (*Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot*, 1971, 23–25) about 3,12.

[30] A. R. Lloyd (*Herodotus, Book II, Introduction*, 1975, 62) uses a similar argument for a date "not earlier than 455" for the whole Egyptian trip; cf. von Fritz, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 125f.

(2,175,2), even without stops and detours. The amount of material he has recorded from Delphic sources likewise shows that he must have spent considerable time there. That he travelled in the Peloponnese is of course well known, but it needs to be emphasized how wide and varied was his itinerary (from Tegea, 1,66,4; 9,70,3, to Taenarum, 1,24,8) and – more important – how much of his information seems to have come from extensive inquiries at Sparta. Besides the straight historical material on Lycurgus and sixth-century Spartan history (1,65ff.) we have the richly detailed account of Cleomenes and his antecedents (5,39ff.; 6,50ff.), the Minyans at Sparta and the colonizing activities of Theras (4,145ff.), and an excursus into the dawn of Dorian history and the contemporary Spartan kingship (6,62ff.; cf. 1,67,5 on the *agathoergoi* and 4,146,2 on Spartan executions by night). Herodotus has taken the trouble to find out about and retell Pausanias' story, even to the bowl dedicated by him at the Bosporus (4,81,4)[31]. Many other small items, too, must have come from Spartan sources: their extraordinary honours to Themistocles (8,124,2–3), the *ateleia* and *proedria* accorded the Deceleans because of their help to the Tyndaridae (9,73), the family-history of Archias of Pitana (3,55), the name of the Spartan member of the allied embassy to Gelon (7,153,1; cf. 7,157,1, "the Spartans and their allies have sent us . . .").

Herodotus' recitations at Olympia, too, must have given him an opportunity for collecting stories about famous victors, men like Philippus of Croton (5,47), Cleisthenes of Sicyon (6,126,2), and perhaps the Eretrian Eualcidas (5,102,3). Indeed, the links between Olympia and some of Herodotus' most important Athenian figures suggest an Olympic source for some, if not all, of their careers: Cylon (5,71), Alcmeon (6,125,5), Hippocrates, father of Peisistratus (1,59,1), the elder Miltiades (6,36,1), and the elder Cimon (6,103,2)[32]. Herodotus knows a great deal, too, about some well-known persons and events in the history of Elis, which presided over the Games: their embassy to the Pharaoh Psammis (2,160), the careers of the seers Tellias (8,27; cf. 9,37,1) and Tisamenus (9,33–35).

[31] Is that not why the account of Plataea ("the fairest victory of all that we know", 9,64,1) for all its obscurities, is so much fuller than that of Marathon and Salamis?

[32] The notice concerning the grave of both the elder Cimon and his celebrated team near the Coele road looks as though it comes from an Athenian source, but Hdt. may have heard it somewhere else (at Olympia or Sparta, for example), for Cimon's triple victory was matched, as Hdt. comments (6,103,4), only by Evagoras the Spartan, who had dedicated a memorial chariot at Olympia (Pausan. 6,10,8).

3. Athenian λόγοι. – Some stories might have come from Athens; very few (in my opinion, none) *must* have. Herodotus is more interested in Cleisthenes of Sicyon (5,67f.; 6,126ff.) than in his Athenian namesake (5,69ff.), and even the latter's story might have been pieced together from sources outside Athens (note the prominence of the Spartan King Cleomenes' deeds and sayings, 5,70ff.). Delphi will have contributed some, perhaps even most, of the information about figures in early Athenian history (Delphi and the elder Miltiades, 6,35,3; and the younger Miltiades, 6,135,3; and the Alcmeonids, 5,62f.; 6,123,2; and Cleisthenes, 5,66,1). It ought to make us at least slightly suspicious that Herodotus shows much more interest in and knowledge of the younger Miltiades' doings in Scythia (4,137) and the Chersonese (6,39ff.) than at Athens. The sources Herodotus specifically vouches for about discrepancies in detail in Miltiades' later career are noteworthy (6,134,1)[33].

Some passages have appeared to certain observers to point unavoidably to a source or sources at Athens. To these – remarkably few – "intractable" passages we may now turn:

> E.1.a. 5,66,1: "Athens, though great even before, once it got rid of its tyrants became greater still;" cf. 5, 78: "the Athenians . . . after they got rid of the tyrants, became by far the first."
> E.1.b. 5,92,α,1: "You Spartans, by putting down *isokratia*, are preparing to restore to cities tyrannies, than which there is nothing more unjust or more blood-defiled among men."
> E.1.c. 7,156,1f.: Gelon turns Gela over to his brother Hieron and takes power in Syracuse. "And Syracuse at once sprang up and blossomed."
> E.1.d. 1,66,1: "Thus, after they [the Spartans during and immediately following Lycurgus' time] made the change, they were governed according to *eunomia* . . . since they had good soil and an abundance of men, they immediately shot up and flourished."

The passages quoted in E.1.a. (5,66,1; 5,78) have often been taken as a proof of Herodotus' admiration for democratic Athens, an admiration which, *ex hypothesi*, he derived from seeing how the (Periclean) democracy worked in practice. In reality, it proves nothing of the kind.

[33] This formulation, and Herodotus' whole account of Miltiades' Parian venture, are not so straightforward as they appear (cf. K. H. Kinzl, *Hermes* 104, 1976, 280ff.).

The sentiment which he expresses here is based at least in part on what seems to be sincere dislike of tyranny (cf. E.1.b. [5,92,α,1]). Even more important, it is a favourite formula of Herodotus: change in the political sphere, like pruning in the agricultural, leads to new growth. This can be a constitutional change (cf. 1,66,1 [E.1.d]; 5,66,1; 78 [E.1.a]), or merely a change of personnel as in 7,156 (E.1.c: in a "tyrannical" state!). In any case, those who would make 5,66,1 and 5,78 (E.1.a) a "Lobrede" of Periclean Athens inevitably will be reminded by their opponents of the following passage:

> E.2. 5,97,2: "It is easier, it seems, to deceive a multitude than one, if [Aristagoras] could not deceive the single Cleomenes of Sparta, but did it to 30,000 Athenians."

This is surely no more (nor less) pointedly critical of Athenian democracy than 3,81 (see below).

Two well-known eulogistic passages are often cited to prove that Herodotus was writing for an Athenian audience and therefore, *a fortiori*, drawing upon Athenian sources of information:

> F.1.a. 6,121,1: "I am amazed, and do not accept the story, that the Alcmeonids would have held up a shield for the Persians by pre-arrangement." b. 6,123,1: "Therefore I am amazed at and do not believe the slander that these men, who were in exile the whole time from the tyrants held up a shield."
> F.2. 7,139,1–5: "Necessity therefore forces me to make a statement odious in the eyes of most men; still, since it seems to me to be true, I shall not hold back . . . Therefore, if someone should call the Athenians 'Saviours of Hellas', he would not have missed the truth" (cf. 8,3; 8,136,2f.; see also 7,10,β,1: [Artabanus to Xerxes] "their men are said to be fighters, as can be inferred from the size of the army which went with Datis and Artaphrenes against the land of Attica and was destroyed by the Athenians alone").

Both instances show Herodotus in his best logical-argumentative style, ready to refute two heretical beliefs on grounds that they cannot be harmonized with other sets of facts already accepted by him as true. The

statements at 6,121,1 and 6,123,1 (F.1.a; b) follow ineluctably from the fact that the Alcmeonids were *misotyrannoi* (6,121,1; 123,1) and that it was they who "made Athens free much more than did Harmodius and Aristogeiton" (6,123,2). Herodotus believed that the Alcmeonids' undying hostility to the Peisistratids was furthermore demonstrated by their having been in exile through the whole duration of the tyranny (1,64,3; 5,62,2; 6,123,1 [F.1.b]). As Wade-Gery and others have remarked, these statements show that Herodotus did not know of the archonship of Cleisthenes in 525/24, because he had not seen the inscribed archon-list set up in Athens *ca* 425 B. C.[34]. As an explanation for this last surprising fact it is generally maintained that his visit to Athens antedated the setting up of the list, but this is incompatible with recent theories which bring him back to Athens late in the Archidamian War, or even later[35]. Besides, did no one in Athens know of Cleisthenes' archonship before 425? Or is it not rather another sign that Herodotus never visited Athens? His defence of the Alcmeonids contains details which may serve as precious indications of a locale for his conversations with them: 5,62,2; 63,1; 66,1[36]. Moreover, 7,139 (above F.2) cannot be cited as conclusive evidence for his presence in Athens: it represents a forceful attempt by Herodotus to disarm criticism – but whose criticism? Not the Athenians', obviously. It cannot therefore have been this passage in particular which won him the incredible ten-talent prize at Athens.

There are several references in the *Histories* to Attic topography:

> G.1. 4,99,4f.: "For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and the Tauri dwelling as they do in a part of Scythia which is like Attica, it is as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the township of Anaphlystus, did Sunium but jut farther out into the sea. I say this is so far as one may compare small things with

[34] R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1969, no. 6 (p. 9–12), with references there; H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 71, 1951, 217f. = *Essays in Greek History*, 1958, 164.

[35] Fornara, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 43 n. 13; *idem*, *JHS* 91, 1971, 25 ("he published at a date close to 414 B. C.").

[36] Hdt. 5,62,2: τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα, κτλ.; 5,63,1: ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι [? = οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι] λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες [sc. οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι] ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, κτλ.; cf. 5,66,1, where Cleisthenes is named.

great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not coasted along that part of Attica may understand from this other way of showing; it is as though in Iapygia some other people, not Iapygian, were to dwell on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brentesium to Taras" (trans. A. D. Godley [Loeb]).

G.2. 2,7: "From the sea up to Heliopolis it is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. If a reckoning be made there will be seen to be but a little difference of length, not more than fifteen stades between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is fifteen stades short of fifteen hundred, and that from the sea to Heliopolis is the full fifteen hundred" (adapted from Godley).

G.3. 1,98,5: "The longest of the walls surrounding the citadel of Ecbatana is approximately the same length as the circuit of Athens."

It seems clear from 4,99,4f. (G.1) that Herodotus has himself made the sea-journey around Cape Sunium; which travelling Greek of his time had not? Just as clear is it that he has in mind an audience (of Westerners?)[37] who might not have done so, and to whom a comparison with the distance from Brindisi to Taranto would be much more to the point. With regard to the information contained in 2,7 (G.2) Herodotus may have seen the Table of Official Distances near the younger Peisistratus' altar in the Agora[38]. More likely, however, since the journey between Olympia and Athens must have been a common one, he is using a figure widely known in the Greek world to illustrate the unfamiliar Egyptian near-equivalent. The comparison in 1,98,5 (G.3) is offhand, and, as Herodotus himself says, approximate. The figure which Herodotus used (whatever it may have been)[39] may have been conventional, and accepted from hearsay[40].

[37] So Kirchhoff thought; see How and Wells, *Comm. Hdt., ad locum;* also 1,11.

[38] Thuc. 6,54,6; cf. *IG* 2^2, 2640 (note that the distance there is "from the harbour . . . to the altar").

[39] It is not clear what figure Herodotus had in mind for the Athenian circuit, since various lengths were current; see Gomme *ad* Thuc. 2,13,7; von Fritz, *op. cit.* (n. 8), Noten, p. 143f.

[40] "His description of Ecbatana is a diagram" – Myres, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 7; cf. How and Wells, *Comm. Hdt.* 1,19. (It has even been doubted that he visited Ecbatana.)

Herodotus also describes as (apparently) an eyewitness a monument on the Acropolis:

> H. 5,77,3f.: ". . . as many as they took alive of these also [sc. the Chalcidians], they fettered and kept in ward with the captive Boeotians . . . The fetters in which the prisoners had been bound they hung up in the Acropolis, where they were still to be seen in my time, hanging from walls that the Medes' fire had charred, over against the cell that faces westwards. Moreover, they dedicated a tenth part of the ransoms, making of it a four-horse chariot; this stands on the left hand of the entrance into the outer porch of the Acropolis, bearing this inscription" (trans. Godley):
>
> ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
> παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου
> δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
> τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

The passage is fraught with problems[41]. None of the proposed solutions is (to my mind) totally satisfactory. Fragments of two versions of the epigram have been discovered on the Acropolis, the later, *ca* 450 B. C., containing the verses in the order in which Herodotus gives them, the earlier inverting verses one and three[42]. If Herodotus recorded the inscription from autopsy, what he saw was a "restored" copy which for some unspecifiable reason changed the original order of the verses. A further, perhaps insuperable, difficulty attends the place where Herodotus says the victory dedication was "still to be seen" in his own day. When Pausanias saw the chariot it was most certainly not "to the left of the entrance to the *propylaia*", but near Pheidias' statue of Athena Promachos[43]. Nor is it clear which building he has in mind when he uses the phrase "the *megaron* which faces westwards". "There is general agreement

[41] Cf., e. g., How and Wells, 2,43f.; G. P. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens", *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 442ff.; esp. 504–506; Powell, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 69; Myres, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 10f.; P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*, 1948, no. 145; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, no. 168; 173; esp. p. 203f.; Meiggs and Lewis, *op. cit.* (n. 34), no. 15 (p. 28f.).

[42] "Archaic letters, not stoichedon", Meiggs and Lewis, *loc. cit.*; "end of the VIth century", Friedländer and Hoffleit, *loc. cit.*; this "earlier" version is also given in the *Collection* ascribed to Simonides, fr. 100 (Diehl); cf. *P. Oxy.* 31, 1966, no. 2535.

[43] Pausan. 1,48,2.

that the old temple [of Athena] (discovered by Doerpfeld) is here referred to; the chains were near the Promachos"[44]. But the (restored) chariot, which Pausanias saw, was there, too. Why does Herodotus place it "outside the *propylaia*"? It is hardly likely to be the case that, as Myres suggests on the basis of Powell's argument from Herodotus' differing verb tenses, "Herodotus described the remodelled monument as well as remembered the original"[45], for what disturbance there was must have occurred in 480 B. C. It seems possible that Herodotus has obtained his information at second hand – the story of Athenian operations against the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 5,77 occurs as a tailpiece to the account of Cleomenes' abortive attempt to restore Isagoras and the "Dorian invasions of Attica"[46]. If so, his informant will have supplied him with a garbled account of how the two parts of the momument were placed in relation to each other, but an accurate rendering of the (recently?) re-inscribed dedicatory epigram. If this explanation be thought unconvincing, I would admit that 5,77,3f. (H) may be a testimony of a Herodotean visit to Athens: a visit so fleeting, however, as to leave but a trace, imperfect and confused, on the traveller's memory.

4. Αὐτοψία. – The phrase used by Herodotus to describe the Boeotian fetters suggests that it may repay the effort involved in looking again at such and similar expressions that have been taken to indicate autopsy by the historian himself[47]. I should estimate that three-quarters of the examples of phrases of this type (ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ, καὶ νῦν, μέχρι ἐμεῦ, etc.) do in fact strongly imply autopsy, especially if it is a question of a particular monument or dedication. Few would doubt that Herodotus has himself seen Alyattes' tomb (1,93,2f.), Rhodopis' spit-dedication at Delphi (2,135,3), dedications by Amasis' wife at Cyrene (2,181,4f.), Adrastus' shrine at Sicyon (5,67,1), Croesus' dedications in the temple of

[44] Meiggs and Lewis, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 29.

[45] Myres, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 11.

[46] Hdt. 5,76; cf. the conspicuously similar dedication by the Tegeates of the Spartans' fetters which ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, 1,66,4. For the Boeotian dedication Powell (*op. cit.* [n. 15], 69) admits that "it is theoretically possible that Herodotus has the information by report and not from personal observation".

[47] A list of such passages can be found in H. Verdin, *De historisch-kritische methode van Herodotus*, 1971, 114 n. 4 (I have noted several omissions in this list). See also J. Cobet, *Herodots Exkurse und die Frage der Einheit seines Werkes*, 1971, 59 n. 346; How and Wells, *Comm. Hdt.* 1,18 n. 1.

Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (1,52)[48], the already mentioned Spartan fetters in the temple of Athena at Tegea (1,66,4). Occasionally, however, Herodotus' phrasing is such as to leave open the possibility that he is reporting at second-hand information received by him from someone else. "It was [the Samians]", he tells us, "who built the temples which now exist at Cydonia in Crete" (3,59,2) – perhaps from a Samian source. His reference to the oracular shrine of Apollo at Abae in Phocis (8,33) is not quite conclusive; an earlier comment regarding the Phocian dedication at Abae is curiously vague, in contrast to the specific details Herodotus gives about their matching gift at Delphi (8,27,3ff.).

The matter becomes especially hard to decide when Herodotus is describing customs or ritual practices initiated in the past but which have perdured "into his own time". The Teians at Abdera give heroic honours to the original founder, Timesius, νῦν (1,168), and the people of Amathus on Cyprus sacrifice to Onesilus καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ (5,114,2). A similar phrase is used of the Argive and Aeginetan women's custom of wearing long brooch-pins because of the ancient quarrel with Athens (5,88,3). The Delphians' sacrifice to the winds (7,179) and the special privileges accorded Otanes' descendants at Persia are described in similar language (3,83,3). The Egyptian monuments may be eyewitness descriptions, but certain Egyptian customs which he recounts and for whose contemporaneity he vouches need not be. There is a temple of Heracles near the Canopic mouth of the Nile in which a slave may take refuge, receive certain sacred marks and become "untouchable"; this *nomos* "survives to the present day" (2,113,2)[49]. After the Pharaoh Rhampsinitus' miraculous descent to and return from the Underworld – a tale Herodotus says he has heard from the priests – the Egyptians instituted a festival "which I *know* they celebrate to the present day" (2,122,2)[50]; since, however, the chapter is littered with marks of a second-hand source and because of some serious reservations on Herodotus' part – "I cannot tell whether this is the real reason for the festival . . . those who find such stories convincing can accept them" (2,123,1) – we need not regard Herodotus' assertion that he "knows" that the festival is kept even in his own day as eyewitness

[48] But cf. 1,92: How did Herodotus know that of the other of Croesus' offerings which he lists there, "some existed to my own time, while others perished?" Regarding the dedications at Branchidae Herodotus knows only by hearsay (πυνθάνομαι).

[49] A germane comparison can be made with the law imposed by Solon in emulation of Amasis [sic], which Herodotus approvingly hopes may last ἐς αἰεί, 2,177,2.

[50] Contrast 1,196,5, a Babylonian marriage-custom (1,196) whose passing Herodotus regrets: οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεε ἐών, κτλ.

testimony. A *teras* that Herodotus says occurred in his own time in the nome of Mendes but which Herodotus almost certainly did not himself see was the open copulation between a local woman and a he-goat; it became, Herodotus remarks, a notorious occurrence (2,46,4).

There are, finally, a number of cases in which phrases like "up to my time", "even now", are misleading: the high degree of certainty (if not actual autopsy) on Herodotus' part that they imply seems questionable at best. Darius resettled prisoners taken from Barke in Libya in a town in Bactria, re-named by them "Barke", "which remains inhabited in the Bactrian country up to my time" (4,204). But how did Herodotus know? It is unlikely that he ever visited Bactria himself[51]. The *phoros* imposed by Artaphrenes on the Ionian cities and paid by them from 493, αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ (6,42,2), is a notorious crux; likewise the comment that the earthquake which occurred on Delos in the summer of 490 B. C. "was the first and last up to my time (6,98,1)[52]. A similar ambiguity surrounds three passages more directly concerned with Athens. "Even now most Athenians appear to me to be ashamed of the name 'Ionian'" (1,143,3). At 8,121,1 Herodotus mentions three Phoenicians triremes taken at Salamis which were set up as thank-offerings: one at the Isthmus, "which was there even in my time", the others at Sunium and on Salamis itself. Macan observes that "it is remarkable that two of these national dedications were to be upon Attic soil, and that of those two Hdt. appears to have no precise knowledge"[53]. Finally, in the course of his narrative of the hostilities between Athens and Aegina, dated by Herodotus before 500 B. C., he remarks on two changes which occurred and whose results lasted to his own day, the change of fashion of brooch-pin among Argive and Aeginetan ladies and the reception by the Athenians of an oracle from Delphi bidding them to "refrain from injuring the Aeginetans for thirty years, and in the thirty-first year to mark out a precinct to Aeacus and start war with Aegina [in which case] they would succeed in what they wished". What the Athenians in fact did in response to the oracle was to dedicate the precinct without waiting the thirty years: τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέ-

[51] Contrast the obviously first-hand account of the town in Cissia re-settled by the Eretrians (6,119,2–4). How and Wells, *Comm. Hdt.* 1,18 n. 1, cite Hdt. 4,124, Darius' forts on the Oaros river in eastern Scythia: "[es] ist klar, daß weder Darius noch Herodot am Oaros war", Fehling (*op. cit.* [n. 29], 97) remarks acidly.

[52] Cf. Thuc. 2,8,3. Compare Herodotus' comments on the rainfall on Egyptian Thebes in the reign of Psammenitus, 3,10,3.

[53] R. W. Macan, *Herodotus: the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, 1908 (repr. 1973), 1,548.

μενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἵδρυται (5,89,2f.). The chronology of the whole sequence of events in this war is confused, and commentators have argued for re-dating all or part of them, including the oracle and the subsequent dedication[54]. The question may, however, legitimately be asked: had Herodotus himself seen the shrine to Aeacus in the Athenian *agora*? He may of course have seen it; his language, however, does not prove it, since we have seen that in similar instances the degree to which the use of a phrase of this type implies that Herodotus is insisting on autopsy varies considerably from case to case. Like his description of the dedication from the Boeotians (5,77; see above, H), Herodotus' language leaves open the possibility, but does not entail, that he saw the monuments in question himself.

Macan commented on the "obscurity", "confusion", and "ambiguity" of Herodotus' description of events at Athens preceding the battle of Salamis, in particular the account of the Persian ascent of the Acropolis by the shrine of Aglaurus (8,53) and the rebirth of Athena's olive-tree (8,55). He suggested that Herodotus was writing not from first-hand knowledge ("before Hdt. himself had visited Athens", since Macan accepts a later visit), but may have "rested upon the authority of the Athenian *émigrés*" in Persia, whom Herodotus mentions at 8,54[55]. It is in any case worth remarking that when Herodotus identifies his sources in general terms such as Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι[56], the information may well have been communicated to him elsewhere than at Athens itself, or be second-hand. As A. R. Lloyd observes, "to suggest that the idea of a large scale history of the Persian Wars was the result of a stay in Athens in the 440s is sheer guess work. It *may* have been but two or three years of quiet reflection anywhere else in later life could have served just as well"[57]. Even the account of the expulsion of the Peisistratids is not told from an exclusively Athenian point of view[58].

[54] With some of these questions I deal in a paper (forthcoming in *Historia*) "Athens and Aegina".

[55] Macan, *op. cit.* (n. 53), 440f.

[56] E. g. 5,85,1; 6,137,3; 4; 8,41,2; 84,2; 94,1; 9,73,1.

[57] Lloyd, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 67.

[58] "The factual knowledge which Herodotos displays will scarcely have surpassed that of many an 'Athenian', or even non-Athenian" (Kinzl, *RhM* 118, 1975, 203).

5. Herodotus of Thurii. –

I.1. *Suda* H 536 (2,588,15ff. Adler) *s.* Ἡρόδοτος, ... μετέστη δ' ἐν Σάμῳ ... ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἁλικαρνασσὸν καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐξελάσας, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰς τὸ Θούριον ἀποικιζόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντὴς ἦλθε κἀκεῖ τελευτήσας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τέθαπται. κτλ.
I.2. Steph. Byz. *s.* Θούριοι (315f. Meineke) ... ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἡροδότου ἐπιγράμματι

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα,
Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης πρύτανιν,
Δωρίδος ἐκ πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἄπο· τῶν γὰρ ἄτλητον
μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγὼν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτρην.

In light of the foregoing discussion, which has shown how slender are the threads tying Herodotus to Athens, it appears that the testimony of the *Suda*-entry, which brings Herodotus directly from Halicarnassus to Thurii, must be accorded more respect than it is usually given; this same tradition seems to underlie lines 3–4 of the "epitaph" (Steph. Byz., above I.2), where the implication is that he fled the "intolerable blame" of the Dorian Halicarnassians directly for Thurii. What he found at Thurii was a thoroughly cosmopolitan and even distinguished assemblage of co-colonists[59]. Whatever Pericles' pan-Hellenic publicity campaign may have been, the colony was basically an Athenian venture, and a large component of the original settlers must have been Athenians. Herodotus would thus have had ample opportunity for discussions with Athenians both obscure and (comparatively) famous, older survivors of the Persian Wars or their direct descendants as well as men who had been closer to the centre of Athenian power, Lampon and Protagoras. Even the passages that contain so-called "late" references Herodotus could have written, or inserted, at Thurii[60].

[59] For Thurii see Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 3, 1, 518ff.; H. Philipp, *RE* 4A, 1008–1010; 6A, 646; V. Ehrenberg, *AJPh* 69, 1948, 149ff. = *Polis und Imperium*, 1965, 298ff.; esp. 170 (= 314); D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, 1969, ch. 9; N. K. Rutter, *Historia* 22, 1973, 155ff.

[60] Against How and Wells' comment that the "late passages" (i. e. 7,233; 6,91; 9,73; 7,137) "would hardly have been known to him had he not returned to Athens" see L. H. Jeffery, *AJPh* 83, 1962, 51 n. 13 (concerning Herodotus' informants "at Athens or Thurii").

Appendix

The hunt for "Sophistic" influences on Herodotus has been a favourite pastime of scholars[61]. This is not the place for a full review of the evidence, but it may be pointed out that, since the winds of Sophistic Enlightenment were blowing from West to East, Herodotus is far likelier to have felt their refreshing stimulus in *Magna Graecia* than in Athens at this period. Direct contacts between Herodotus and Protagoras would have been inevitable, but other names, both small and great, can also be mentioned – the brothers Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, for example, who were, according to Plato, "skilled at combating and refuting by their arguments anything that might be said, whether true or false"[62]. Much in Herodotus seems directly inspired by the innovative theories of the southern Italian medical writers; we may note, for instance, Herodotus' apparently close familiarity with the career of Democedes of Croton (3,125ff.), and the striking similarity between 3,80–82 and Alcmaeon's use of *isonomia* and *monarchia* in a medical context[63].

The Professors in western Greece in the mid-fifth century seem to have been hardly less mobile than today's variety. In the *Hippias maior* (282D–E) Hippias remarks on Protagoras' presence *in Sicily;* Hippias then proceeds to recount his own triumphant (and remunerative) tour there, naming in particular the Sicilian town of Inykos. Herodotus himself almost certainly travelled widely in both Italy and Sicily (cf. esp. 5,43–47; 7,153–167) and could easily have met Hippias there – if not at Olympia (cf. above, D. 3) or in Sparta, where Hippias is said to have "described the different types of states and colonies"[64].

[61] Initiated, perhaps, by E. Maass, *Hermes* 22, 1887, 581ff.; more recently Schmid, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 1,2,572ff.; W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot,* 1921 (repr. with add. 1969), 286ff.; A. Dihle, *Philologus* 106, 1962, 217ff.

[62] Plato, *Euthydem.* 272A.

[63] DK[6] 24 B 4. This contention I hope to argue at greater length elsewhere.

[64] Philostr. *Vit. soph.* 1,11 (Hippias). I must reserve for a future discussion my views about the influence of Hippias' theories upon Herodotus. The case for Protagorean influences, especially upon Hdt. 3,80–82, has recently been reargued by F. Lasserre, *MH* 33,1976,65ff.; but see my *caveat* in *Euphrosyne* 7,1975/76 (forthcoming).

ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHEK

Corinth and Athens before the Peloponnesian War

The relationship between the two cities is stated by the Corinthians, in their first speech at Athens, as being neither hostile nor friendly, but of common adherence to the Thirty Years' Treaty (Thucydides 1,40–41). In spite of this statement, the Corinthians claim that the Athenians owe them a debt of gratitude on account of two favors which they had done for the Athenians and which led to the subjection of Egina and to the punishment of Samos. In the one case, the Corinthians refused to join those Peloponnesians who voted to support the Samian revolt, and in the other, earlier case, they supplied the Athenians with twenty boats for the war against Egina.

The questions may be asked, what else we know from other sources about the relations between Corinth and Athens before the Peloponnesian War, and how reliable the statement of the Corinthians really is[1].

It is surprising that the planned Peloponnesian intervention in the revolt of Samos is not mentioned in any of our other sources; this is especially remarkable since Thucydides himself discusses the revolt thoroughly (1,115,2–117) and emphasizes the threat of Persian intervention. Is it possible that the statement of the Corinthians concerning the planned intervention of the Peloponnesians in the Samian revolt and concerning their own opposition to it is completely false and that Thucydides by passing over it in silence in his account of the Samian revolt contradicted the Corinthian claim implicitly? Similarly, Thucydides flatly contradicts the Corinthians' assertion (1,41,1) that they were not hostile to the Athenians (which is also implied in their request to the older Athenians to persuade the younger to aid the Corinthians: 1,42,1) by stating that the Corinthians

[1] While D. Kagan (*The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, 1969, 173–175), G. E. M. de Ste Croix (*The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 1972, 200–203 and 211–214) and R. Meiggs (*The Athenian Empire*, 1972, 190) accept the statement as reliable, R. Sealey (*CPh* 70, 1975, 106–107) admits that it is not clear whether the Corinthians spoke "the whole truth".

hated the Athenians enormously ever since the Athenian acquisition of Megara (1,103,4), and that they participated during the revolt of Euboia in the defection of Megara (1,114,1). This shows clearly that at least one of the claims of Corinth that they supported Athens was false; Corinth was hostile to Athens at least since 459 B. C.

For the Persian Wars we have the detailed account of Herodotus which must be connected with the hostility between Athens and Corinth at the time when Herodotus wrote his book; see de Ste Croix' statement on this subject (*op. cit.*, 212). Herodotus himself makes this clear when he emphasizes on another occasion (6,89) that Corinth and Athens were friendly before the Persian Wars. This passage in fact refers to the second favor which the Corinthians later claimed to have done for the Athenians, the loan of twenty boats which led to the victory over the Eginetans (Thuc. 1,41,2). The actual events upon which this claim is based have been told both by Herodotus and by Thucydides, and the accounts of the historians do not quite bear out the claim of the Corinthians. True, the Eginetans were defeated in a sea battle (Hdt. 6,92,1), but they defeated the Athenians soon after and captured four of their ships with the men (6,93). There was no question of a conquest of the island since the Athenians had been warned by the oracle to wait thirty years for this (5,89). Thucydides refers to the same story (1,105) and describes accurately the ultimate conquest (1,108,4).

It appears that both examples offered by the Corinthians to show their past favors to the Athenians must have been unconvincing both to the historian Thucydides and to the Athenian audience. They knew that the aid of the Corinthian ships, however well meant, did not result in the conquest of Egina, and they had never heard of the proposed Peloponnesian intervention during the Samian revolt and they may not have believed it.

In contrast to these doubtful cases of Corinthian aid to Athens, there is a major contribution which the Corinthians made by which they virtually saved the Athenian Democracy, namely their withdrawal from Eleusis during the vengeful attack by King Kleomenes which Herodotus reports in great detail (5,74–76). The decision of the Corinthians "that they were not doing the right thing" resulted in their own withdrawal and in that of King Demaretos and subsequently in the shameful collapse of the entire expedition[2].

[2] Fritz Schachermeyr has recently suggested (*GB* 1, 1973, 211–220 = *Forschungen und Betrachtungen*, 1975, 75–84) that the Corinthians withdrew when the treaty between

This friendly disposition of the Corinthians showed itself on still another occasion which may belong into the same context, as G. Grote and after him G. Busolt suggested (*Gr. Gesch.* 2^2, 399 n. 4). The story is told by Herodotus in connection with the battle of Marathon (6,108), and Thucydides refers to it in his account of the destruction of Plataea (3,55). When the Plataeans on the advice of Kleomenes appealed to the Athenians for help against Thebes and were subsequently attacked by the Thebans, the Corinthians appeared as arbitrators who favored so it seems the Plataeans and Athenians. Afterwards the Boeotians attacked again, were defeated by the Athenians and forced to accept the river Asopos as boundary between Plataea-Athens and Thebes. One would be inclined to identify this battle with the victory of the Athenians over the Boeotians of which Herodotus tells in connection with the rise of Democratic Athens (6,77,2) and to assume that he told the same story twice without giving a cross reference, were it not for the fact that Thucydides specifically and precisely stated (3,68,5) that the destruction of Plataea took place in the 93rd year after the conclusion of the treaty between Plataea and Athens, i. e., in 426/25 B. C.[3].

How is one to explain the silence of the Corinthians concerning the aid they gave to the young Athenian Democracy, an aid which was far more important than the loan of some boats for the war against Egina? Did the Corinthians not remember what they had done about eighty-five years earlier or did they not choose to mention it? Did Thucydides not know anything about it because he had not yet read Herodotus? The Corinthians saved Athenian Democracy a second time, when they alone spoke against the Spartan proposal to return Hippias to Athens (Herodotus 5,92). The silence of the Corinthians and/or of Thucydides on this occasion is made up by Herodotus' awareness of the shift in the attitude of the Corinthians towards Athens. He puts into Hippias' mouth the statement (5,93) that the day would come on which the Corinthians will wish that the Peisistratids were back, when they themselves will suffer at the hands of the Athenians.

Dareios and the Athenians became known; for this treaty, see my remarks in *GRBS* 5, 1964, 151–159.

[3] A passage in Pausanias (9,6,1) implies that there was but *one* engagement between Athenians and Thebans over Plataea, and Thucydides himself seems to refer to an old treaty between Athens and Thebes according to which Panakton was to remain neutral (5,42,1). Finally, Herodotus emphasizes (5,78) that the military superiority of Athens over her neighbors showed itself only after the expulsion of the tyrants. Thucydides may have made a mistake but it is diffcult to explain his text as it stands now.

It appears that Corinth was on good terms with Athens from the expulsion of Hippias until the Persian Wars. During the Persian Wars, the Corinthians favored the defense behind the wall across the Isthmus, but there is no sign of any hostility on their part towards Athens; later, during Kimon's return from Ithome there was no change in their attitude[4].

The real break came over Megara, first its conflict with Corinth and then its alliance with Athens. This was according to Thucydides the origin of the strong hatred which the Corinthians held against the Athenians (1,103,4).

The speech of the Corinthians in Athens draws a different picture of their relationship to the Athenians, a picture which did not make a strong impression on the Athenian audience. How false it was is also shown by the speech which the Corinthians delivered a few months later in Sparta and which in Thucydides' account of it is replete with hatred (1,68–71).

[4] For the anecdote told by Plutarch, *Kimon* 17,1–2, see de Ste Croix (*op. cit.*, 78 n. 34) and the idle speculations by J. Cole, *GRBS* 15, 1974, 374–378.

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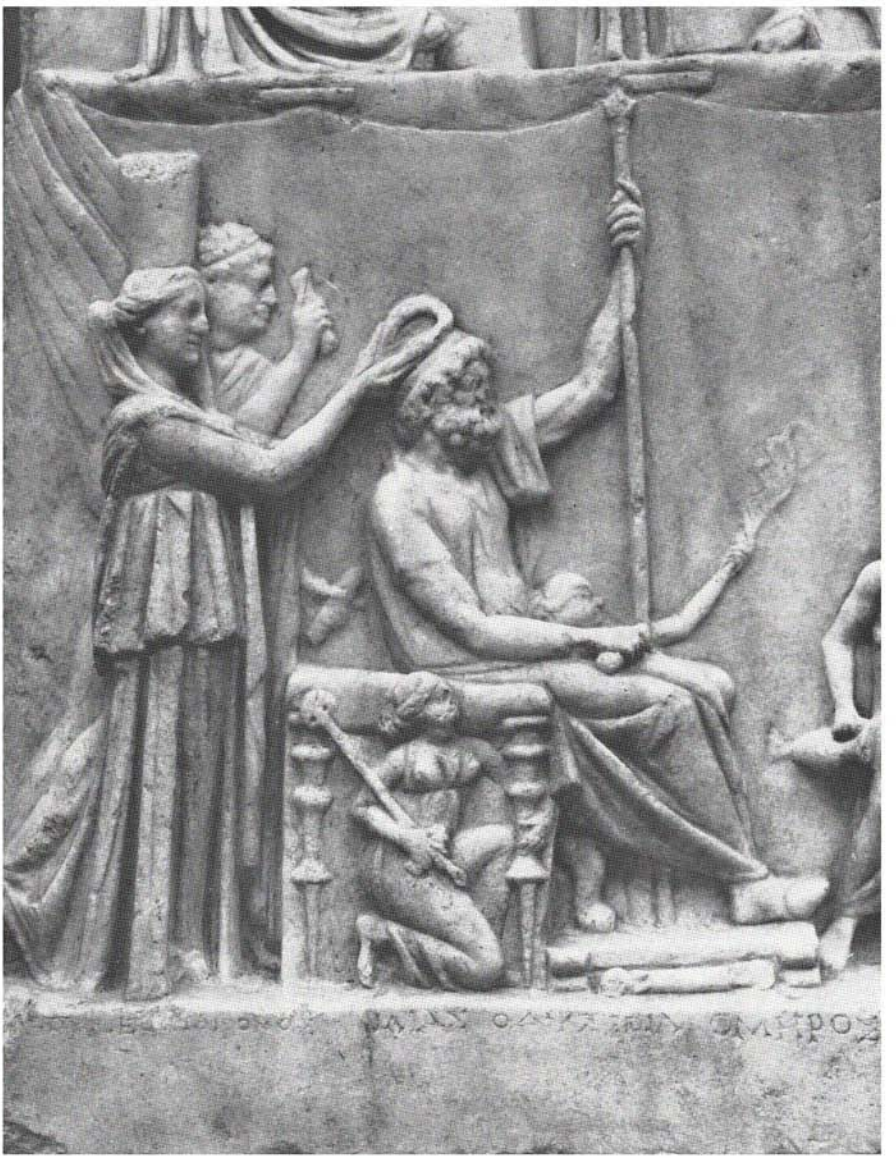
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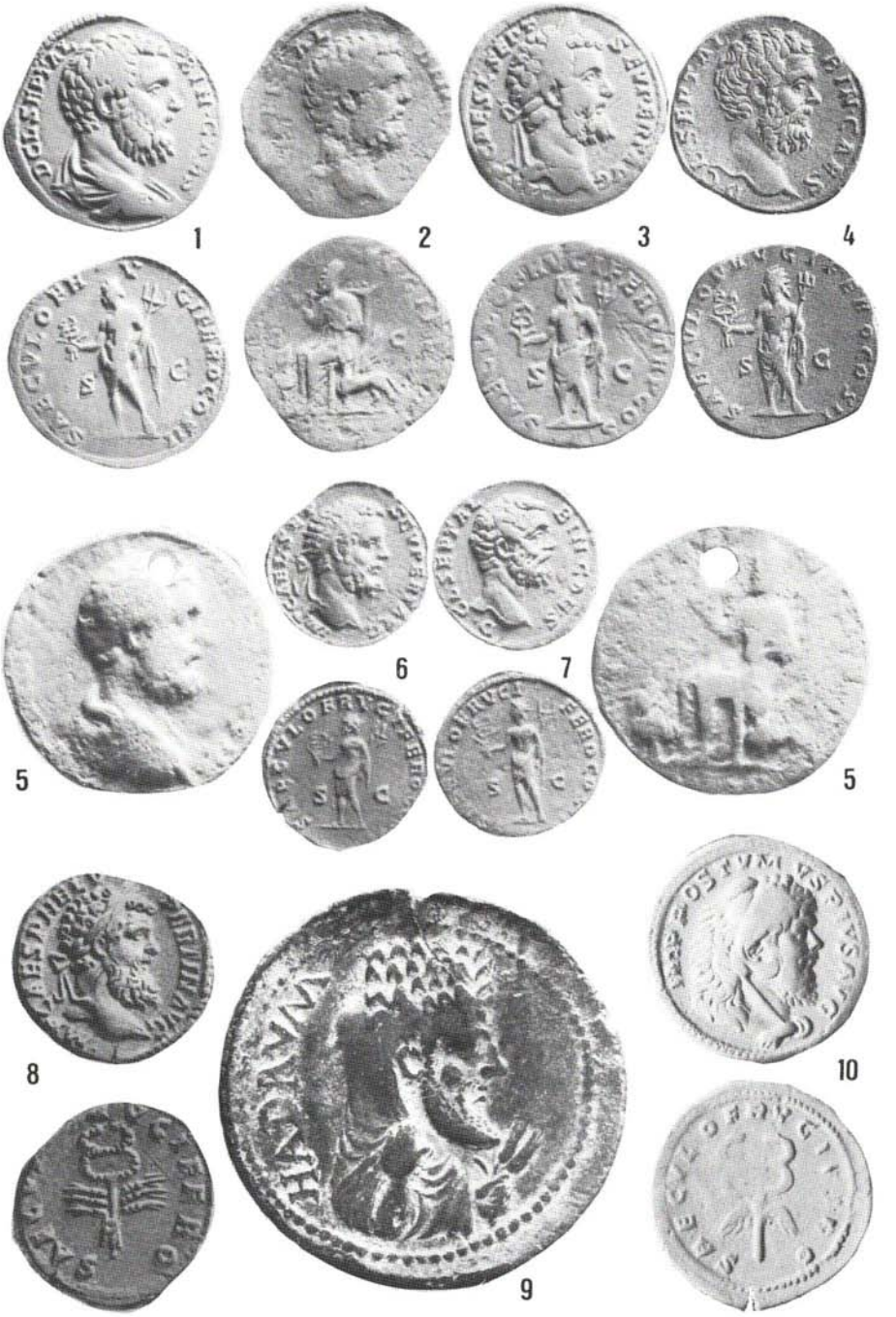




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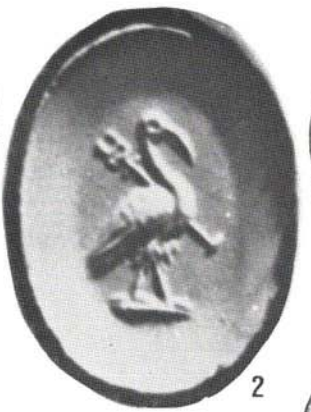


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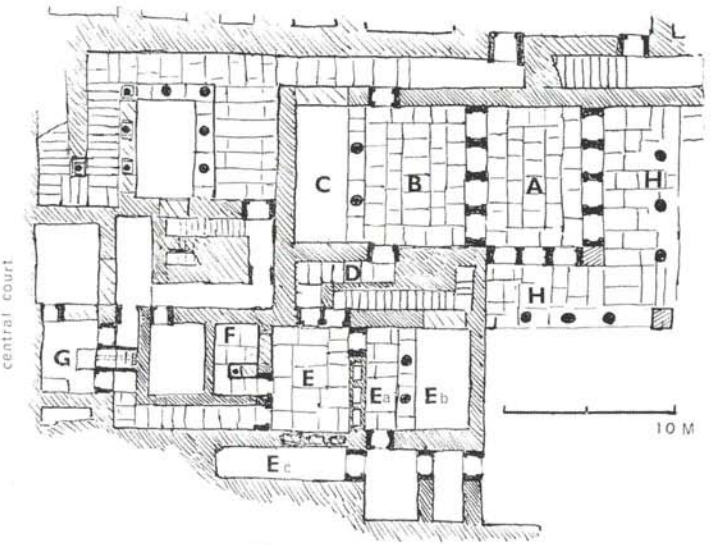


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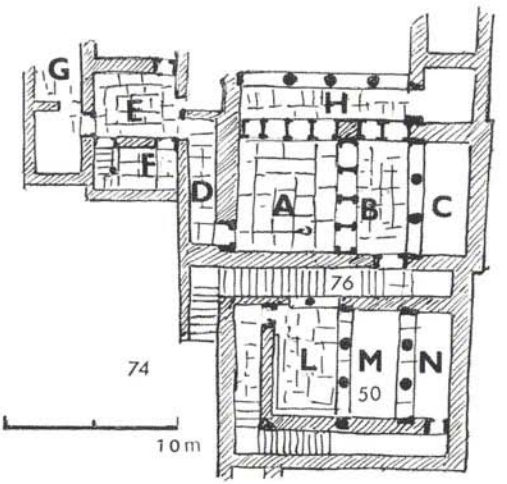


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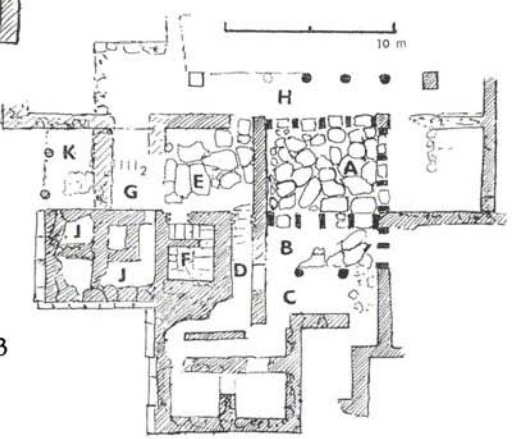


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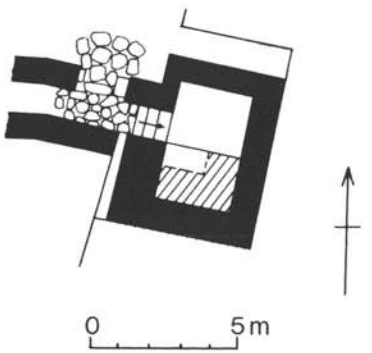


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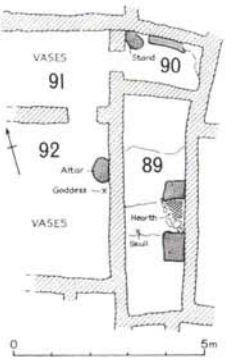


Fig. 2

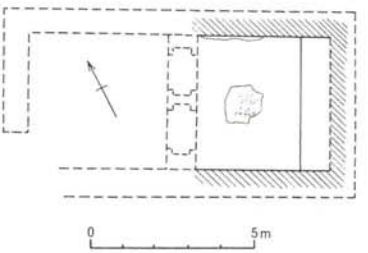


Fig. 3

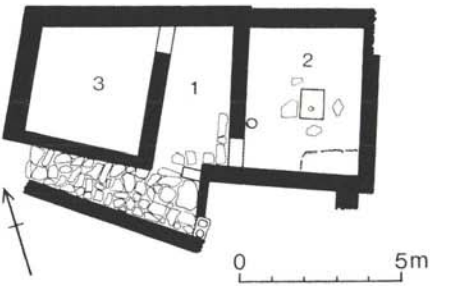


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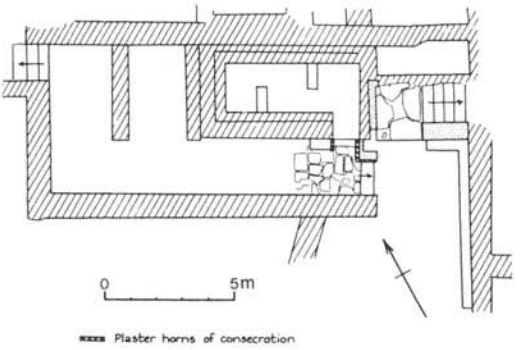


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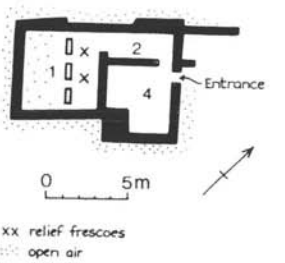
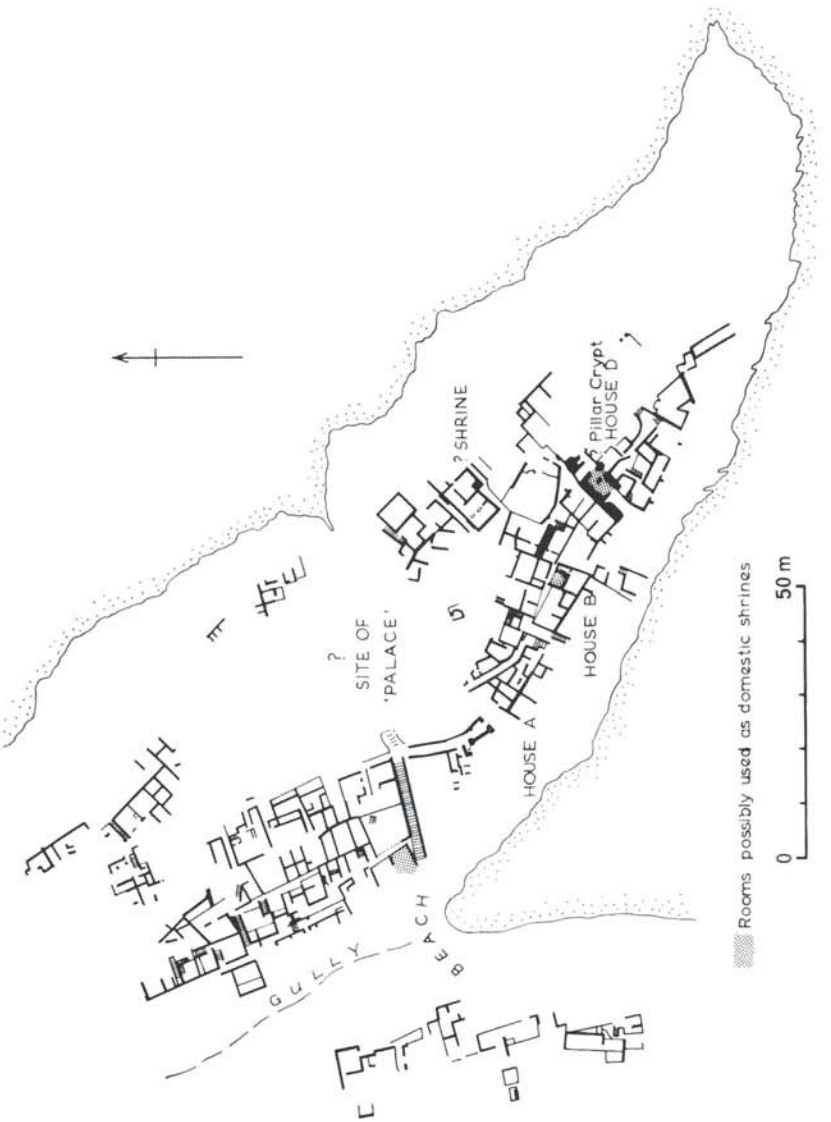


Fig. 6


? SHRINE
Pillar Crypt
HOUSE D
HOUSE B
HOUSE A
? SITE OF 'PALACE'
GULLY
BEACH
Rooms possibly used as domestic shrines
0
50 m

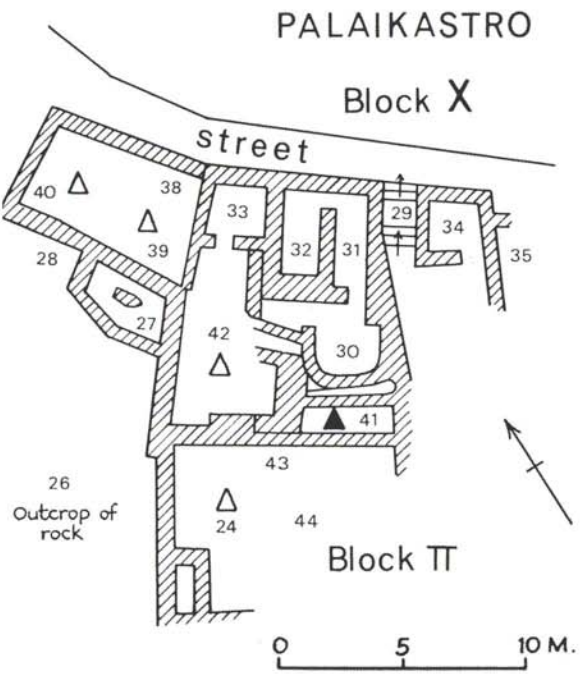

PALAIKASTRO
Block X
Street
40
38
33
29
34
39
32
31
35
28
27
42
30
41
43
26
Outcrop of rock
24
44
Block TT
0
5
10 M.
Main concentration of LM I A pottery
Pottery with ash and bones of oxen

Fig. 1

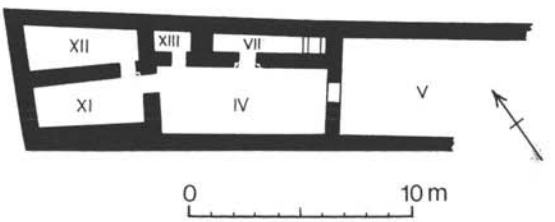

XII
XIII
VII
XI
IV
V
0
10 m

Fig. 2

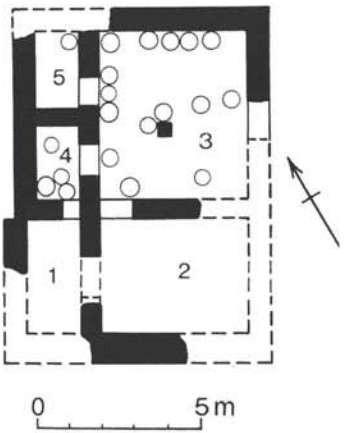

5
4
3
1
2
0
5 m

Fig. 1

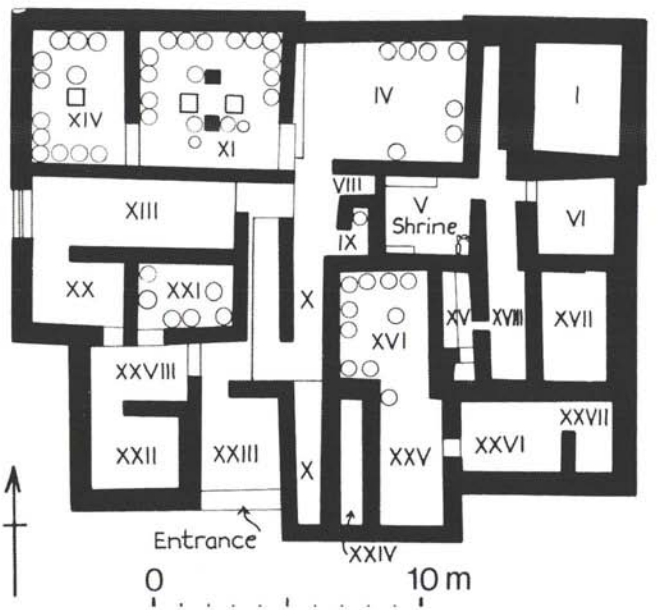
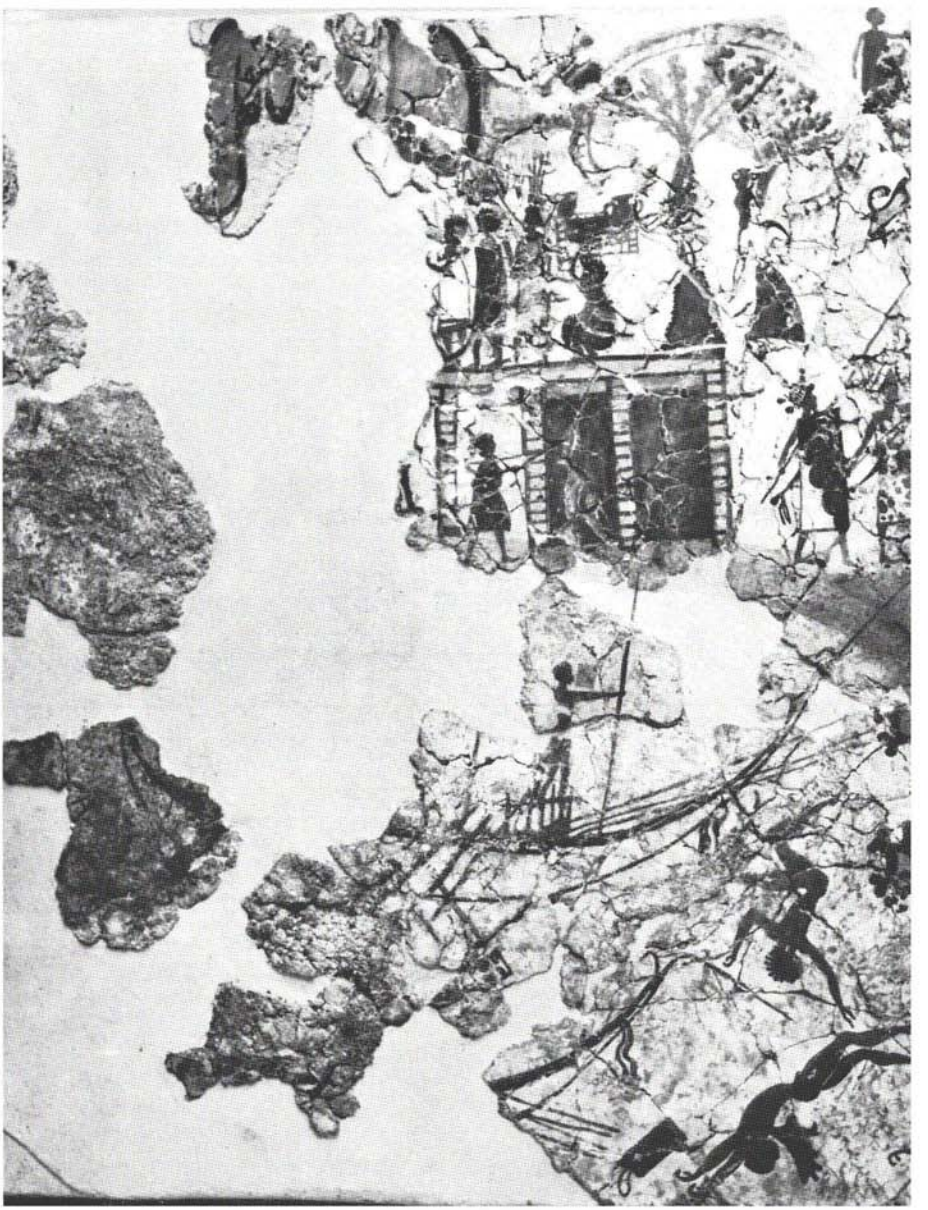
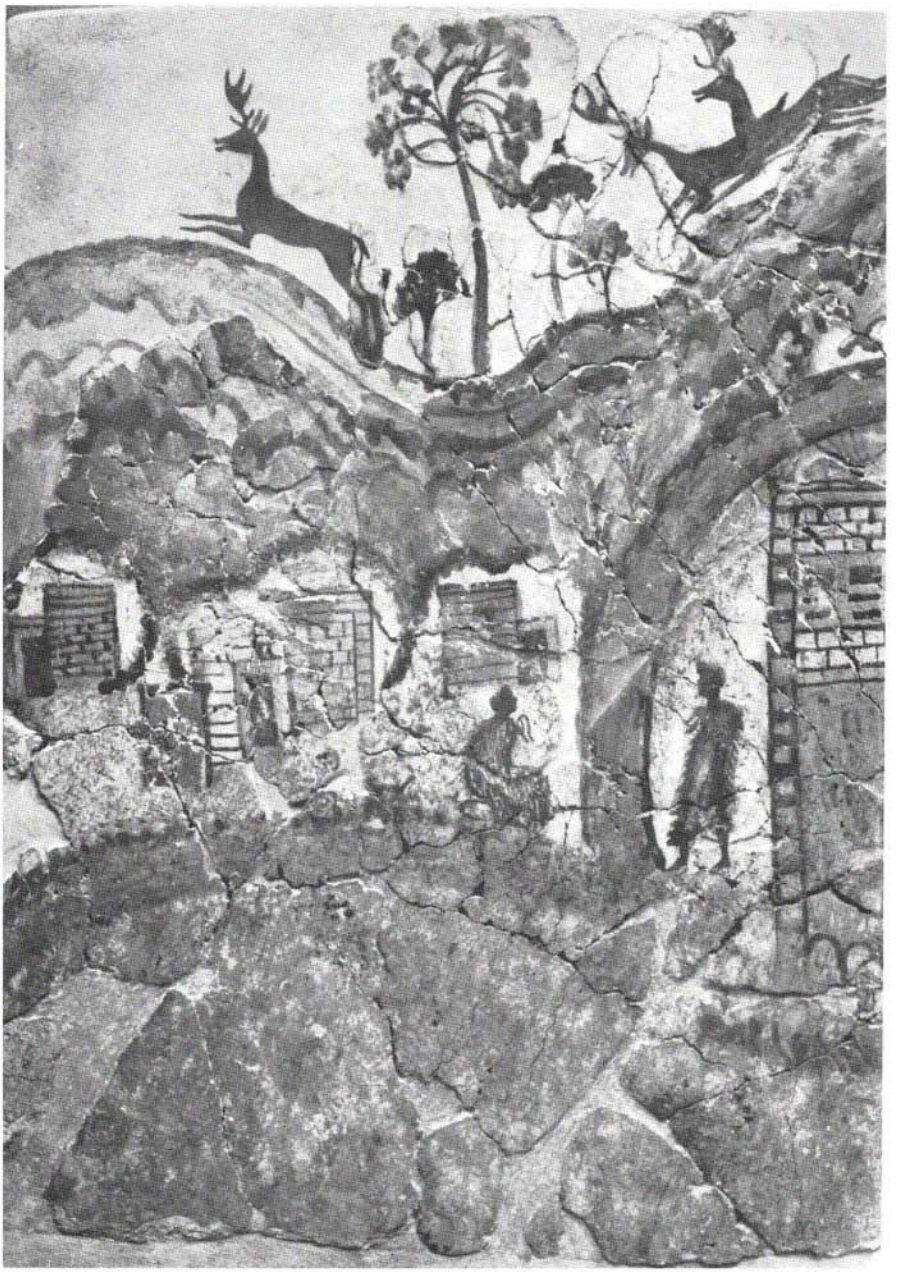
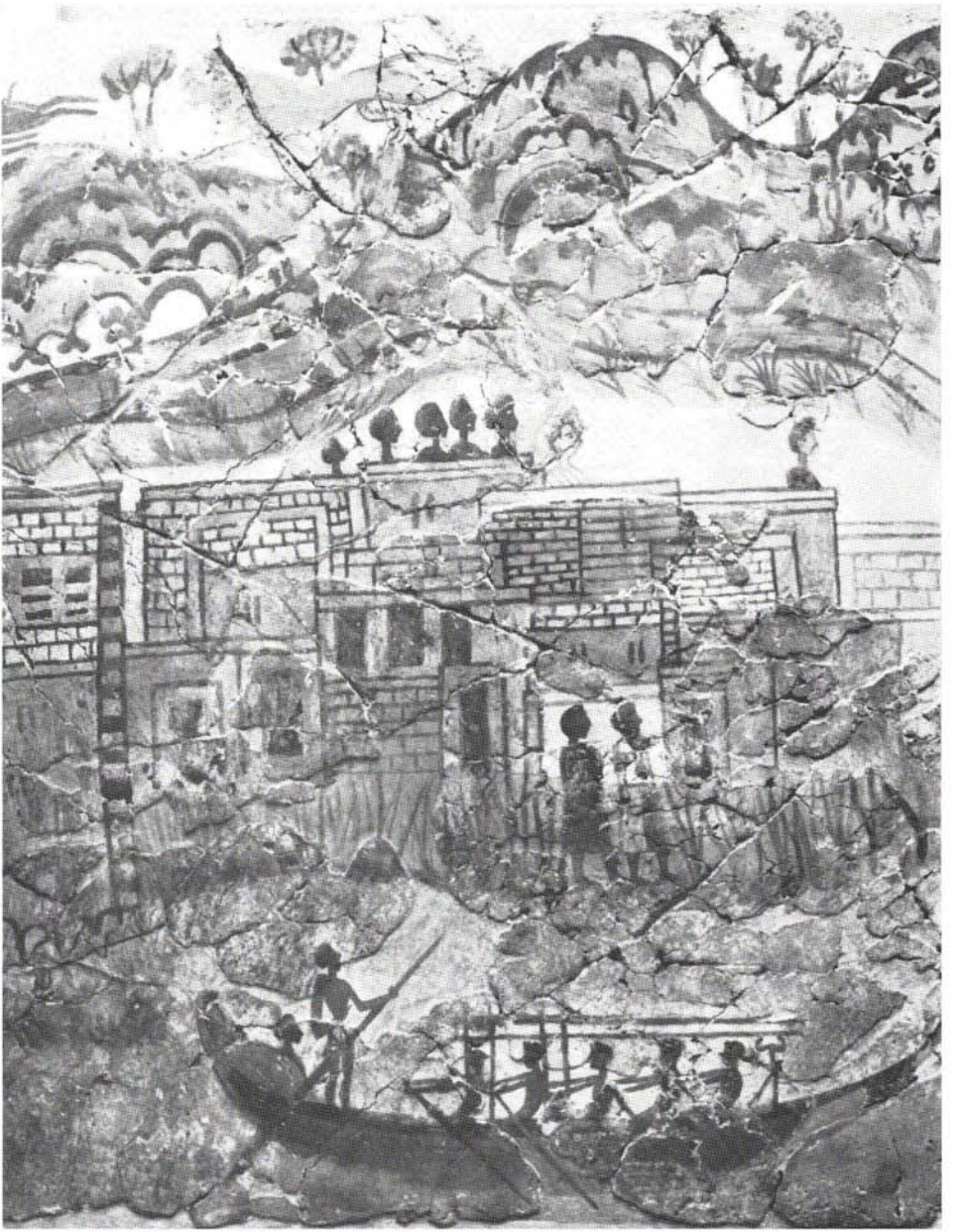

XIV
XI
IV
I
VIII
V
Shrine
VI
XIII
IX
XX
XXI
X
XVI
XV
XVIII
XVII
XXVIII
XXVII
XXII
XXIII
X
XXV
XXVI
Entrance
XXIV
0
10 m

Fig. 2









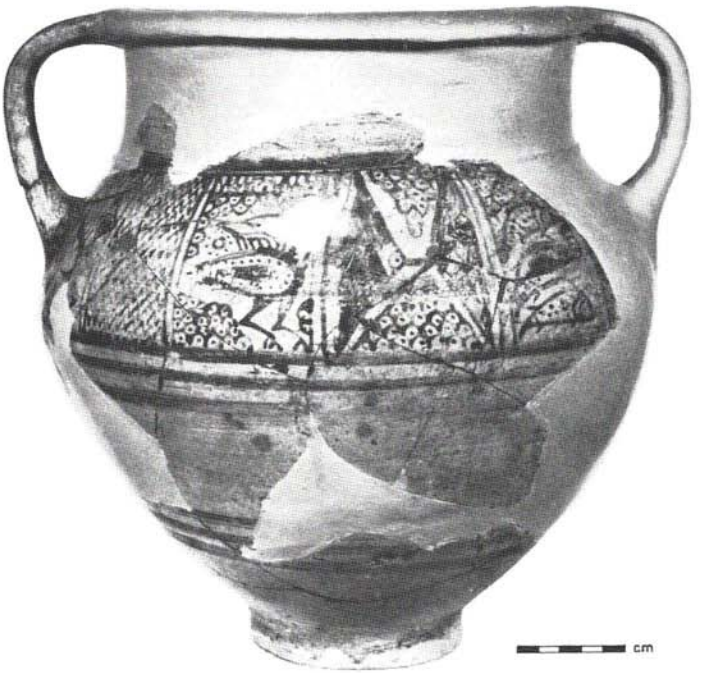


Fig. 1

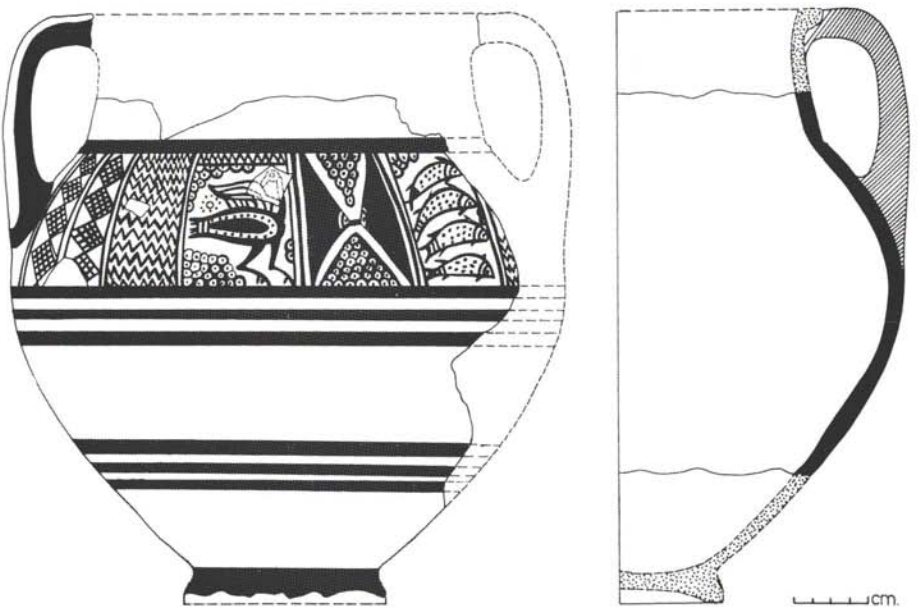


Fig. 2

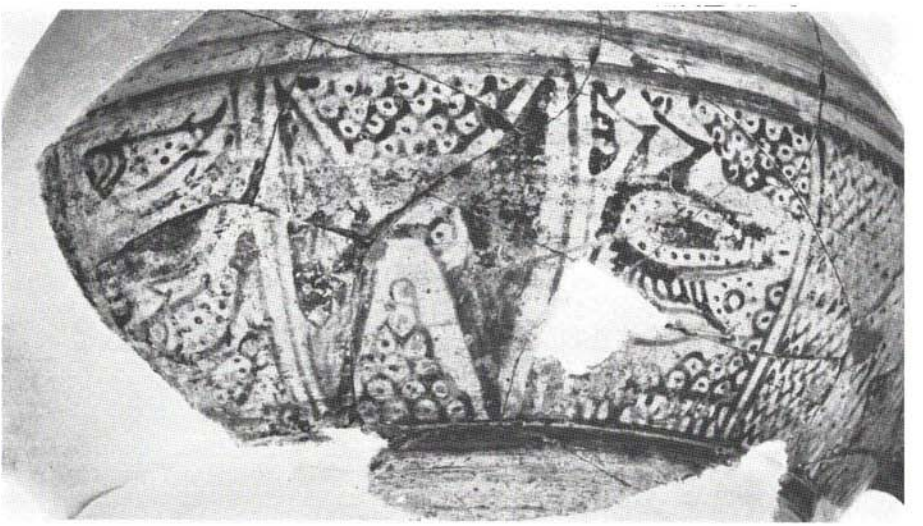


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

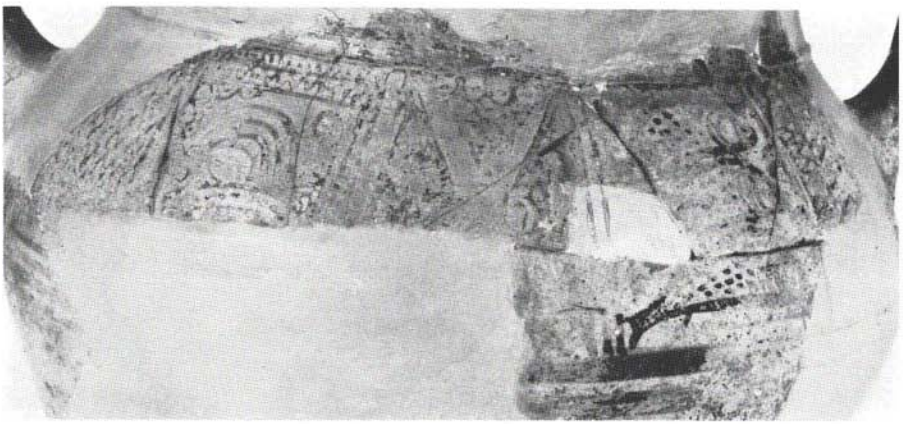


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

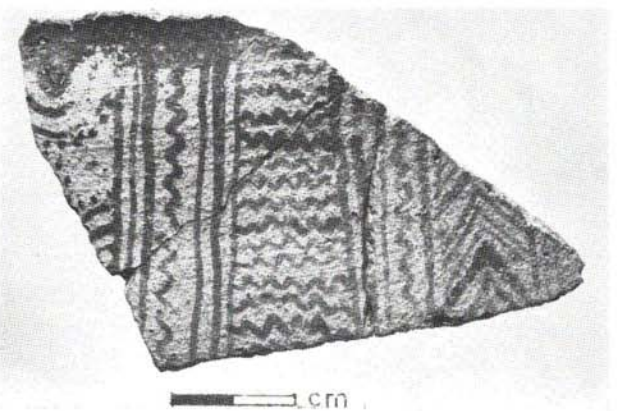


Fig. 1

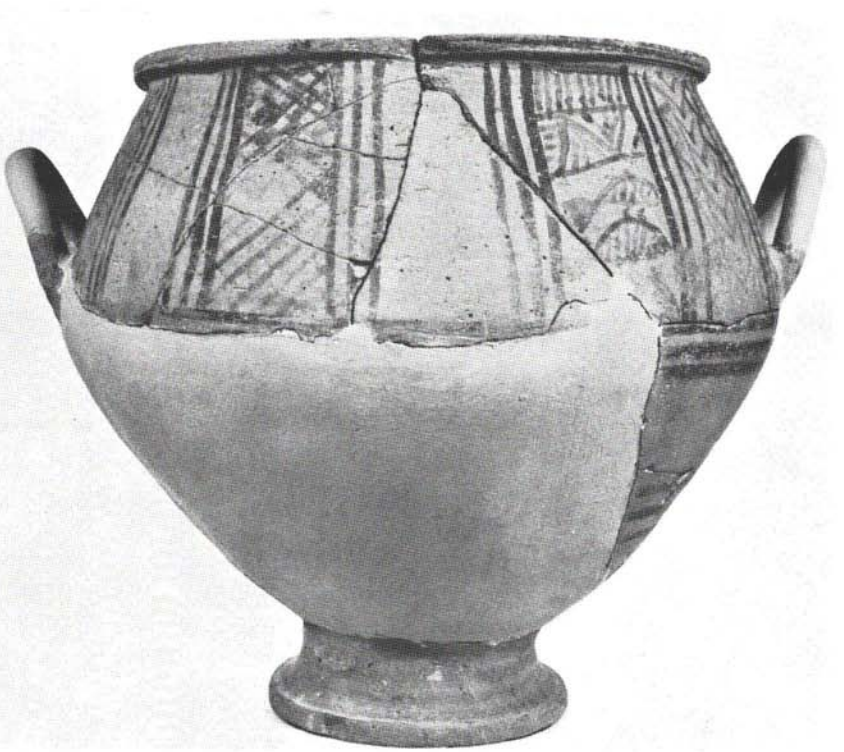


Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 2